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New Republic

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Letter of the Week

Toward Farmer-Labor Understanding

James G. Patton, the author of this letter, is president of the National Farmers Union.

SIR: The election last November 5 emphasizes with greater force than any other happening in American history the necessity for building unity among the working people who live on the farms and in the cities. Generations of liberals have dreamed about farmer-labor parties and various other joint activities between organized farmers and organized labor. All have fallen short of the mark because neither group had the basic understanding of the other's point of view which is the cement of unity. During the war and the present transition period, the conservative press, radio commentators and the conservative politicians in both major parties have emphasized differences between farmers and organized labor.

The workingman in the city has been told that all farmers are greedy black-marketeers and are against organized labor. In rural areas, farmers have been told that organized labor was responsible for the shortages and the high prices of things farmers bought.

If corporate interests in this country are not to take over completely, fresh thinking and major efforts are essential to bring about a thorough understanding of the common interests of both groups. Several steps can be taken to bring about unity of interest and action:

First, labor leaders should get over the "pigs-is-pigs" psychology. Farmers are human beings, and among them there are as many different shades of social and economic philosophy as in any other occupational group. Farmers have been at the forefront in this country in past generations in fighting monopoly and the malpractices of corporations. Farmers' attitudes toward labor are not by any means hopeless.

Second, organized labor should raise

(Continued on page 47)

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New Republic

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News in Focus

Lilienthal Case

Congress

LIKE a small scratch reddening into a painful, spreading sore, the Lilienthal case became a major Capital crisis. It began in an innocuous, routine hearing. This week the controversy over the confirmation of David E. Lilienthal had swollen into a sensitive political boil. It pierced deeply. The integrity of the US Senate, the future of atomic control, and, not the least, the bare privileges of democratic decency were only a few of the matters now in balance.

When the Senate Atomic Committee began hearings January 27, Lilienthal had appeared to be a cinch for quick, decisive confirmation in one of the world's most important jobs—chairman of the powerful US Atomic Energy Commission. His administrative record as chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority had won international recognition and drawn praise from Republicans and Democrats alike. The Senate demonstrated its bipartisan esteem for Lilienthal in 1945 by rushing through his confirmation to another term as head of the TVA by a voice vote, without a Republican voice raised against him. His role in drafting the Acheson-Lilienthal atomic-control report last year had expanded his prestige, especially among scientists, and that document had been the basis for the US atomic plan presented to the UN by Bernard Baruch.

But Lilienthal's old adversary, Senator Kenneth McKellar (D, Tenn.), had managed to drag out the hearings for three weeks. During that time something had happened. Opposition, which originally consisted of only McKellar and Tom Stewart, Tennessee's other Senator, mysteriously grew to such proportions that it was now anybody's guess whether Lilienthal could be confirmed.

Originally, the charge against Lilienthal had rested on McKellar's cantankerous contention that the former was somehow tinged by communism. Next, the taint of New Deal sympathy was added to the indictment. An uglier undercurrent began to bubble ominously —Lilienthal, it was whispered, was a Jew and his parents foreign-born. By this time Lilienthal's acknowledged competence had become lost in partisan accusations against his character and temperament.

McKellar's personal fight again Lilienthal, on the issue of "communism" in the TVA, was a sordid process from the start. The Dies Committee had found only three Communists among 18,200 TVA employees. Yet McKellar produced a parade of friends who claimed they had been fired from the TVA for opposing communism. He offered as proof that a TVA official had urged others to read Steinbeck's novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, and that other TVA employees had been seen reading the *Daily Worker*. He read into the record

DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

a copy of a letter written by a TVA employee describing Communist penetration in the agency—chairman Bourke Hickenlooper (R, Iowa) suggested strongly that the document might be a forgery. McKellar recalled that Lilienthal's parents were born in Europe and suggested that only second-generation Americans should be eligible for the Atomic Commission.

Most committee members soon tired of McKellar's performance and stayed away from the hearings. Senate colleagues conceded that McKellar, a sick and aging character, was simply carrying out a personal vendetta against the man who had kept the TVA out of the Tennessee political-spoils system.

The campaign against Lilienthal on grounds that he was an ardent New Dealer was something else again. Most Washington correspondents strongly suspected that it had actually been launched by Senator Taft (R), although the Ohioan officially kept out of the fight all last week. The relevance of New Dealism to the case was highly questionable. The powers of the Atomic Energy Commission under the McMahon bill had been carefully drafted line by line with the approval of GOP Senators Vandenberg, Austin and Millikin. The bill had passed unanimously. Congress was free to alter the authority of the commission at any time. But these powers had all been authorized by Republicans as necessary and vital to our national security.

Nevertheless, Senators Bridges (R, N. H.) and Wherry (R, Nebr.) were quick to pick up the line. They described Lilienthal in scathing terms: "Extreme New Dealer . . . sympathetic toward Russia . . . extreme left-winger . . . appeaser of Russia. . . ." Bridges cited Lilienthal's work in the TVA, "a social experiment, which is a wide departure

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from the American system of private ownership of property." Repudiation of the New Deal in November, Bridges said, certainly was intended to ban an extreme New Dealer from the Atomic Commission chairmanship. The approach soon attracted Republicans like Brewster (Me.), Moore (Okla.), Kem (Mo.), Brooks (Ill.) as well as conservative Democrats like O'Daniel (Tex.) and John H. Overton (La.)

Then came the real shock for Lilienthal backers: Majority leader Wallace H. White Jr., of Maine, a fair-minded Senator seldom given to the partisan excesses of a Wherry or a Bridges, announced he would vote "nay" because he believed Lilienthal "temperamentally unfitted." White emphasized he was not questioning Lilienthal's "abilities or . . . personal character," but said the nominee had shown "little respect" for Congress and had opposed legislative limitation on his "dictatorial management of the TVA."

The defection of White, one of the GOP's Big Three in the Senate, appeared to leave Lilienthal's final fate up to the other two—Taft and Vandenberg. If Taft decided to wage a floor fight against Lilienthal, the latter would be doomed unless Vandenberg rushed in to wage a floor fight for him.

How had it all happened? Congress had passed the McMahon bill with fresh memories of the bombs that dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Senators and Representatives were willing then to accept the theory that public control of atomic energy was essential and that only some form of international control could eventually insure the US and the world against atomic war. Those memories were not so fresh now.

Hostile pressure groups had suddenly recovered their voices. Some Army officers, exploiting our relations with Russia, had quietly resumed their fight for military control of atomic energy. The isolationists were trying to halt US moves toward international control of atomic energy by the UN. Utility executives and other industrialists were expressing loud fears over what would happen to them with a public-power advocate like Lilienthal directing the development of atomic energy.

These things could not have blocked Lilienthal's confirmation, however, if the Truman Administration had read the warning signs and prepared to take the offensive on his behalf at the start of the hearings. As it was, no one tangled with McKellar or challenged his right to dominate a committee of which he is not a member. No one rose on the Senate floor to answer the arguments of Wherry and Bridges. Last week the President finally issued a statement that McKellar's charges of communism were "absolutely unfounded," and asserted that he would stick by Lilienthal throughout the fight. The White House realized that if Lilienthal went down, the rest of the commission might go with him. Meanwhile, the work of the commission was being seriously delayed.

More than one Washingtonian this week drew the obvious parallel between the Lilienthal case and Woodrow Wilson's nomination of Louis D. Brandeis to the US Supreme Court more than three decades ago. The fight to confirm Brandeis lasted for five months. Many of the arguments advanced for and against Brandeis were similar to those now being used in the Lilienthal fight.

After it was over, Brandeis made some pointed comments. He was without animosity and indignation for those who had fought him, but the "really serious feature" had been "the silence of acquiescence of those who were not opposed to or were actually in sympathy with me. . . .

"Most alarming is the unmanliness, the pusillanimity of those who believe that my efforts were commendable, but feared to speak out; men who so lacked an active sympathy with the demands of fair play that they were willing to remain silent although they realized fully that my opponents were guilty of foul play."

Offer Declined

Foreign Affairs

IN THE midst of Britain's dark and shivering coal crisis (see page 22), President Truman declared that the US stood ready to "do everything within its power to relieve the plight of the British people in their present fuel emergency." It might be possible, Truman said, to divert to Britain some US coal-laden ships already on the Atlantic and bound for other European countries. The next day, Clement Attlee sent a gallant reply. He and his colleagues had learned "with warm appreciation" of the Truman offer. "But the need for coal in Europe is no less pressing and we could not ask that cargoes should be diverted from Europe to the United Kingdom."

"Fair Brow"

Georgia

RETRIBUTION caught up with Homer Loomis Jr., the New York playboy with the crew haircut who came South to spread hate and violence among susceptible Atlanta hooligans. Loomis, secretary of the anti-Negro, anti-Jewish Columbians, Incorporated, was found guilty of inciting to riot and sentenced to 12 months on a Georgia chain gang. He still awaits trial on charges of illegal possession of dynamite and unlawful usurpation of police authority.

At his trial last week Loomis listened distractedly as former members of his khaki-shirted organization recited a noxious tale of Columbian activities: beating Negroes on the streets, threatening them with firearms, terrorizing them out of their homes, enrolling young boys to bully Jews and Negroes out of their neighborhoods. Solicitor General E. E. Andrews told the jury that he had evidence to prove that Loomis plotted a worldwide organization of "white gentiles" and that Columbians had prepared to dynamite the homes of their detractors.

Loomis was defended in court by his father, a dignified-looking Wall Street admiralty lawyer, a member of New York's fashionable Metropolitan Club and an earnest apologist for his erring son. Loomis Sr. addressed the jury as "my fair-skinned brothers" and argued that the survival of the white race was at stake. "I beg of you not to place on this fair brow the curse of a convict because he dared to criticize organized Jewry," he said. Fanatically, he added that "the Jews have taken over your radio, your press, your money, and now they want your fair skins, your straight nose, your blond hair, your blue eyes." It took the jury only 29 minutes to reach a verdict of guilty.

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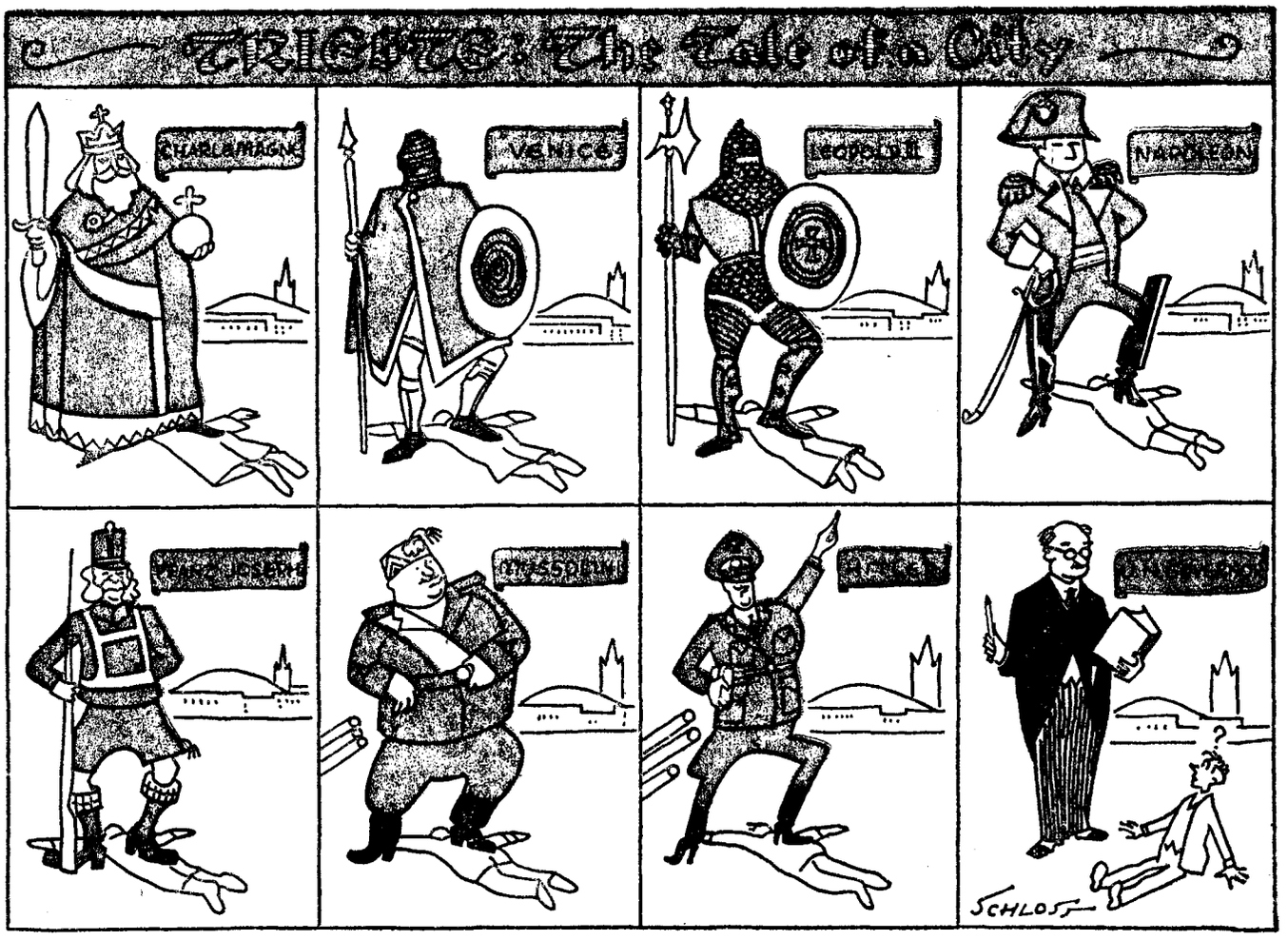

Back in the Fold

The Peace

AT LEAST the treaties were signed. The diplomatic machinery could now begin to creak for Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland even if the treaties were not yet ratified by the big powers. Britain released the gears by deciding to recognize Bulgaria's Fatherland Front government. Italy, like the mistress of her own house, searched a British ship sailing in Italian waters for contraband. The US talked about a US-Italian trade treaty. Czechoslovakia made tentative remarks about a friendship pact with Hungary. Yugoslavia was sending a chargé d'affaires to Rome to replace her military mission. And Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were flirting with the idea of unification.

But these five stepchildren of Hitler's Reich seemed scarcely exultant over the signing ceremony at Louis XV's work desk on the Quai d'Orsay. Forbidden to make statements upon the occasion, the small nations could hardly wait to proclaim their grievances. All were counting on membership in the United Nations to seek revisions.

Finland alone did not grumble outwardly. Hungary, noting that "one-quarter of the Hungarian people must live in Danubian states outside Hungary," deplored the provisions for her minorities in Czechoslovakia and Rumania. Bulgaria felt that she was entitled to a co-belligerent status (so her reparations load would be less) as of September 9, 1944, the day she cast out her pro-German government. She looked wistfully again for an outlet on the Aegean Sea. Rumania complained about her frontier settlement and her heavy debt burden.

For Italy, it was a day of crepe-hung flags and violence. She was stripped of her African empire and most of her fleet, indebted for $350 million in reparations, and was giving up part of her homeland to France and Yugoslavia. In Rome, Carlo Sforza, venerable republican foreign minister, broadcast to the nation that the new Italy "cannot possibly nourish" her 45 million inhabitants. Demonstrators invaded the Yugoslav legation to protest the transfer of Italian territory in Venezia Giulia to Marshal Josip Broz-Tito and the creation of a free state, supervised by the United Nations, around the long disputed port of Trieste. "Long live Italian Trieste," the crowd chanted. Flags flew at half mast. The internationalization of the Adriatic harbor would serve as a major test of the UN's ability to cope with Europe's traditional major sore spots.

The Sponge

Middle East

BRITAIN tossed in the sponge on Palestine. After a fortnight of fruitless negotiations in London and ominous rumblings from the Holy Land, Foreign Secretary Bevin announced he was turning the problem over to the United Nations.

Nobody knew whether the explosive forces in Palestine would wait that long. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem ordered

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his followers to "force Britain to forget" attempts at compromise; two days later an Arab band raided a Jewish settlement. A shipload of DP's fleeing internment in Europe was shoved back from Haifa to more internment on Cyprus; 20 were on stretchers. Many embittered Palestine Jews were joining extremist ranks; the moderate *Haganah* group had resumed violent action by blowing up two British transports at Haifa.

Britain's last-ditch formula offered Arabs considerably more, Zionists considerably less, than any previous program. It proposed independence for Palestine after five more years of British trusteeship, during which the country would be divided into local autonomous areas having "a substantial majority of either Arabs or Jews." No boundaries were mentioned, but "it would not necessarily follow that all the Arab or all the Jewish territory need be contiguous." Jewish immigration of 100,000 would be permitted in the next two years; after that it would be decided by the High Commissioner and an Arab-Jewish Advisory Council, with the UN arbitrating disputes.

Zionists argued this was a step backward for them from last year's Morrison-Grady plan, which offered them local autonomy over a single block of territory, and that it was two steps back from the 1937 Peel report, which proposed outright partition and a separate Jewish state. They pointed out that under a system of local majority rule, the Jewish communities of Galilee, the Dead Sea region and the undeveloped Negeb would be cut off from the principal Jewish-settled area along the west coast.

They saw no hope that a joint commission on which Arabs predominated would approve further Jewish immigration, and therefore claimed the plan would reduce Jews to a permanent minority status. Since Arabs currently outnumber Jews two to one and are allowed to enter Palestine at will, the 100,000 Jews admitted would rapidly be swallowed up in an Arab sea.

The Arabs objected to any immigration at all, and demanded immediate statehood. Twice Britain had made concessions to them on immigration. The Anglo-American Commission recommendation, sustained by President Truman, had been for "immediate" admission of the 100,000; Morrison had amended it to "within a year," and now it was to be spread over two years. But the Arabs stood pat.

Referring the problem to the UN held no terror for Arabs. Syria was on the Security Council; Arab influence could be exerted there and elsewhere. For the stateless and voteless Jews, UN debate was not an encouraging prospect. And for Britain, worldwide airing of the Palestine ferment might well be catastrophic; caustic Soviet diplomats could be expected to take potshots at the whole pattern of British policy in the strategic Middle East.

How the British had arrived at this awkward position was indicated in a dispatch from London. It said that the Foreign Office was "shaken" by Arab rejection of the Bevin plan. Other advices made it clear that Bevin had counted on Arab approval, since he had met their major demand of eliminating any possibility of a Jewish state.

But British policy makers had probably underrated Arab shrewdness. The Arabs knew of the Labor Party's militant resolution of 1945 in favor of a Jewish majority in Palestine: "There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case now." The Arabs recognize the steady Laborite retreat from this position that had culminated in the Bevin plan. And, from Bevin's speeches about the menace of "300 million Moslems in India" who would fight for the Arabs, they deduced a possible reason for the Labor reversal: Bevin had bowed to the Foreign Office argument that friendship of the feudal Arab monarchs was Britain's best safeguard against Russian expansion in the Middle East.

Arab leaders were little worried by the argument of Labor rebels that no "Holy War" would be waged by a disease-ridden, unindustrialized Middle East; or by a BBC admission last week that "Arab peasants are not greatly interested in politics." Said Arab "legionnaire" leader Mohammed Nimer al Huwari: "I don't expect an anti-Arab decision; Britain is looking toward another war, and intends to have the Arabs and Moslems on her side."

Age of Science

THE ordinary citizen finds himself frequently bewildered by the Age of Science. Most perplexing is the fluent language of the scientifically elite. In Washington last week Dr. George Russell Harrison, dean of the Massachusetts Insitute of Technology, related this example of our time:

A New York plumber wrote the US Bureau of Standards his discovery that a dose of hydrochloric acid would quickly open a clogged drainage pipe and asked if it was a good thing to do. A Bureau scientist replied, "The efficacy of hydrochloric acid is indisputable, but the corrosive residue is incompatible with metallic permanence."

The plumber wrote back thanking the Bureau for telling him the method was fine. The scientist, a little disturbed about the misunderstanding, showed the correspondence to his boss (another scientist). The latter wrote the plumber, "We cannot assume responsibility for the production of toxic and noxious residue with hydrochloric acid and suggest you use an alternative procedure."

The plumber answered again. He agreed with the Bureau—hydrochloric acid worked fine. The two scientists, upset over the future of New York's drainage, called in a distinguished colleague to break the impasse. In a final letter to the plumber the third scientist reluctantly lapsed into the layman's language: "Don't use hydrochloric acid. It eats hell out of the pipes."

Tribute

Lobbies

THE new crop of Washington lobbyists includes former Democratic Representative Fritz G. Lanham of Texas, onetime member of the House Committee on Patents and now the registered representative of the National Patent Council, the American Fair Trade Council and the Trinity Improvement Association at $13,000 a year.

Informing Capitol Hill of Lanham's new job, the NPC sent around a letter with this grateful tribute: "This consumates a relationship contemplated long before Mr. Lanham's voluntary re-

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tirement after 28 years of continuous service in Congress, during which he pursued actively his interest in patents and trademarks. . . . It will be remembered, incidentally, that Mr. Lanham led, in the House, the NPC fight against the Sovietized Section 11 of the McMahon atomic-energy bill . . . and contributed much to the defeat of many unsound patent bills so persistently pressed in Congress."

Chinese Inflation

Shanghai

With a crack as loud as a Yangtze boat-puller's whip, the currency of China broke on the black market of Shanghai. In two days the Chinese dollar fell away from the official rate of 3,350 to $1 to 19,000 to $1 (prewar rate: three to $1). Shanghai's commerce was paralyzed, its working population devastated, queuing up before the few shops that still sold rice.

T. V. Soong, China's Harvard-trained financial "wizard," rushed from Nanking to take personal command of the situation. K. C. Wu, Shanghai's chubby mayor, alerted his black-uniformed police for action against food rioters. A new set of controls and penalties was decreed by Generalissimo Chiang, who said that "rough-and-ready justice will now be applied" to the collection of taxes.

A number of confusing technical reasons were ascribed to the sudden break, but the new crisis was only the financial face of a military and political situation that had been deteriorating for more than a year. When the war against Japan ended, the inflated currency of Chiang Kai-shek stood at 2,000 to $1, and several hundred billion in notes were in circulation. China's budget was badly unbalanced. During the war Chiang had been able to collect no tariff revenues, no income taxes, no excise taxes on commercial activity. He had made up his deficits by printing paper money in small denominations and flying tons of new notes from US engraving plants.

With victory over Japan, Chiang inherited two choices. The first was to make an uneasy truce with the Communists, pour the country's resources and American supplies into rehabilitating China's war-ruined economy and reduce military expenses to a minimum. The second was to pursue the war against the Communists and invest all in hopes of an early victory. Chiang chose the latter course. Eighty percent of his budget—by American estimates—was devoted to prosecuting the new war. Paper currency continued to pour off the presses. Last week, as his armies gathered once more for a major offensive in Shantung, Chiang's financial foundations were wobbling.

But the currency crisis presaged no immediate shift in policy. Inflation would wipe out the middle class of Shanghai, strike hunger into the homes of civil servants and hamstring industry. The main foundations of Chiang's regime, however, still rested in the feudal villages, where the landlords of the Kuomintang continued to extort millions of sacks of rice from the peasantry. With this rice Chiang would feed his troops and key workers in arsenals and government bureaus. As long as the US made available the oil, trucks and metals of war to supplement his rice and soldiers, Chiang could and probably would continue to fight.

Closed Shop

Labor

The American Federation of Labor filed a suit last week in an Arizona court to challenge the constitutionality of a state law banning the closed shop. The suit named the American Sash and Door Company (for violating a closed-shop contract) and State Attorney General John L. Sullivan (for enforcing the questionable statute). Eventually, the AFL intended to carry its case to the US Supreme Court.

A favorable decision from the highest court might dam the flow of anti-labor legislation which had engulfed state capitals since the November elections. Seven states had already adopted "right-to-work" laws prohibiting labor contracts that made union membership obligatory. Arkansas had started the trend back in 1943 with a statute sponsored by the Christian American Association ("We just want to protect the workingman in his God-given right of earning his living"). Since then, Alabama, Florida, South Dakota, Nebraska, Arizona and Virginia had passed similar laws.

More were on the way. In Nashville both the CIO and the AFL were battling against a bill before the Tennessee legislature. The Georgia general assembly was holding stormy hearings on another. The concern of Southern states with the "God-given right" of the workingman had risen sharply with parallel organizing drives by the CIO and the AFL below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Facts and Figures

Budget

Republicans labored mightily, and seemingly brought forth a $6 billion cut in the President's proposed budget for fiscal 1947-48. But it was not what it seemed. It was only a pious recommendation that would have no force when Congress got around to appropriations. Congress might then cut the budget $6 billion, $4 billion, or nothing.

Republican leaders carefully concealed exactly how any lopping would be done. It was evident that none could be done without severely curtailing government services or diminishing our military expenditures. One member of Congress, emerging irately from the stormy budget session, called the $6 billion recommendation "so much campaign-promise eyewash."

A joint Senate-House committee had arrived at the over-all $6 billion figure by a simple process of arithmetic: The committee members estimated government receipts at $39.1 billion. The President had estimated receipts at $38.9. They estimated expenditures at $31.5 billion. The President had said, after severe pruning, that expenditures would have to come $37.5 billion. With a stroke of a pencil, the Republicans came out with more than enough slack to absorb a $6 billion cutback.

If such a surplus really occurred, Republicans planned to use about half of it ($3.3 billion) for a 20-percent cut in taxes, and to apply the rest to reducing the country's $260 billion debt. An amendment to apply all savings to debt reduction was voted down.

Republican leaders were secretive about telling where the $6 billion would

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come from. But Senator Chan Gurney (R, S. D.) revealed that the budgeters planned to slash Army appropriations about $1 billion and Navy funds about $750 million. The Secretary of War and Generals Eisenhower and MacArthur immediately warned that such a cut would "invite disaster." The Secretary of the Navy cried that it would "cripple" the Navy. Secretary of State Marshall solemnly declared that the reduction in the feeding of foreign populations which would be involved would make the task of the occupation forces "impossible" and would cause starvation.

Another disgusted member of Congress, Representative G. H. Mahon (D, Tex.), siphoned out some of the other figures. He disclosed that Republicans planned to slash expenditures for public works by $100 million; to eliminate the $75 million school-lunch fund; to cut the Rural Electrification Administration from $300 million to $100 million; to reduce Interior Department funds, including reclamation work, about one-third.

This kind of pruning would get rid of social services which Republican conservatives had always fought. But the hard facts about budget cutting were that many items were unassailable: Interest on the public debt and tax refunds would cost $7.1 billion; the loan to Britain and other fixed international obligations another $1.9 billion; other fixed obligations of government departments and agencies, about $3 billion; the Veterans' Administration, after a proposed $200 million decrease, $7 billion; the armed services, after the proposed $1.75 billion cut, $9.5 billion. These "must" items and irreducibles alone totaled $28.5 billion.

The more realistic Senate was beginning to feel that the promises could not be kept. If the House should approve the suggested $6 billion cut, there was every prospect that the Senate would ease up on it. Senators were talking favorably about the $4.5 billion cut proposed by Senator Millikin (R, Colo). Even that would be a congressional miracle. When it came to eliminating dams, river and harbor improvements and special services, members would not step hard on things dear to so many of their constituents.

Not for Rent

AFTER a survey of 475 cities in 45 states, the National Association of Real Estate Boards counted 88,500 vacant dwellings in the US which were being held off the market by property owners unwilling to abide by rent ceilings.

Historic Event

Diplomacy

AWAITED in Washington this week was India's first full-fledged ambassador to the US. The arrival of 59-year-old Asaf Ali, London-educated veteran of the Congress Party, was a historic event in relations between this country and the Far East's colonial millions. But although the diplomatic credentials of the new emissary were in order, his mission was marred by continuing dissension at home. He came, nevertheless, bearing the highest hopes of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose Congress Party dominates India's politically torn Constituent Assembly in the struggle to create a charter for India's independence.

Nehru, in a cable to the *New Republic,* explains India's foreign policy as one "based on the United Nations Charter and the coöperation of all nations for peace, freedom and the liberation of all suppressed peoples. We propose to avoid entanglement in any blocs . . . [but] inevitably India will be drawn closer to those countries which are friendly and coöperative to her. . . . On the eve of independence, India looks forward . . . to utilizing her vast resources for . . . development as a great nation.

"She is bound to play an increasing part in world affairs . . . and all her weight will be thrown on the side of peace and social progress. In the present contest of international rivalries and suspicion, it is difficult . . . not to be swept away by fear or dislike. . . . But that is the only correct policy which can lead out of the vicious circle in which the world moves today. . . . She [India] hopes that all those who stand for this policy in America . . . [will] not be disheartened by . . . imputation of motives. In a world where there are still so many bloodshot eyes, we have to be clear-eyed, and while being practical, we must also keep our ideals in view."

House in Order

State Department

GEORGE C. MARSHALL as Secretary of State does not believe that the way to combat the extreme Left is by turning to the extreme Right. This was a charge often leveled against Marshall's predecessor, James F. Byrnes, particularly in regard to US policy in Greece and China.

On China, Marshall put his own feelings on the record the day before his appointment to succeed Byrnes. He held no brief for either "the dominant group of reactionaries" in Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang or the "irreconcilable Communists." He called for assumption of leadership by "liberals in the government and in the minority parties" as the way out of China's dilemma.

Last week, Marshall issued the same kind of statement on Greece. The occasion was the formation of a new coalition government under Premier Demetrious Maximos. Once again, Marshall had plenty of fault to find with extremists at both ends, but his statement constituted the strongest US warning to date that the Greek government had better put its house in order.

He condemned intimidation of "law-abiding citizens" by "armed extremists of whatever political complexion," obviously meaning both the EAM guerrillas and the government's security police. He said that the US hopes Greek partisan differences will be "submerged" in a dynamic program of amnesty coupled with the disarming of illegal bands, just and rigorous tax reforms, modernization of the civil service, realistic financial controls and the even-handed dispensation of justice."

The US had made some of these suggestions when it granted Greece a $25 million loan more than a year ago, but this time the language was stronger. What it meant was that no more loans would be forthcoming until the warring Greek factions made more strenuous efforts to achieve, in Marshall's words, "substantial unity."

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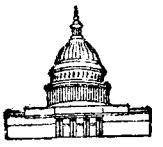
Washington Wire



Self-centered Nation

WHEN you stop to think of it, the corporations have done a terrifyingly successful job in the past year in winning their psychological battle with the trade unions. War has concentrated economic power in America as never before, as the Murray Committee in the Senate has just shown. In the past year, corporation profits have topped any previous record. Official statistics show the profits weren't centered in a few particular industries; they were scattered all over the map. In the same year almost everybody benefited except organized labor, whose aggregate wages dropped about $5.5 billion from 1945. This loss of spending power makes a mild recession seem likely.

Under circumstances like these you would think popular sympathy would be with the workers, not the corporations. On the contrary, labor is more under attack in Congress than ever before, hardly any newspaper has a good word to say for it and drastic legislation looms.

The situation is terrifying because of its long-range implications. On taxes, budget, tariffs, the corporations and the well-to-do are coming into their own. In abstract terms this may not matter. But in the inexorable business cycle it is now almost universally agreed that this piling up of surplus profits inevitably leads to a crash, sooner or later. Budget surplus that ought to go to debt reduction will soon be handed out by Congress to the well heeled, in reduced taxes. National income that ought to go into mass purchasing power to sustain production is being pushed into the hands of the upper-income bracketeers, who can't spend it all, try as they will.

As in most eras of prosperity, the nation is self-centered. We may throw crumbs of aid to the desolated areas, but even though the State Department warns that it is to our own deepest advantage to be generous, not very much is expected here. Well, it takes about 10 years for a big boom to reach its crest. If another 1929 crash comes in '57, it ought to be something to watch. One can't help wondering if capitalists are too greedy to save capitalism.

THE real leader in this fight against Lilienthal is Taft. He is the GOP commander and must take responsibility. He has told friends that he will vote against confirmation; he even acknowledged that he put Senator Bridges up to making his initial trial-balloon attack on Lilienthal as a "New Dealer." To our mind it is the first really irresponsible thing Taft has done at this session. His Lincoln Day speech on economic policy was also disappointing; it had protectionist overtones and, as Walter Lippmann said, failed to indicate that "he is even aware" of the problems of oversavings in bringing about that next crash. Taft's limitations stand out clearly. He is head and shoulders above most GOP Senators in diligence, force and ability. But in some respects he is living back in the Coolidge era.

A NEW phase is developing in Truman's relationship with Congress. Republicans have got the legislature organized, their committees are about ready to bring in bills and start investigations, and the real showdown between rival executive and legislature comes nearer. While Republicans were preoccupied with their unaccustomed task of organizing Congress and laying down policy, it was relatively easy to put them on the defensive, and Truman's stock rose notably. From now on it may be harder. The period of coöperation may be ending; twice in one press conference last week Truman attacked congressional opponents—on Lilienthal and on the proposed budget cuts.

Heretofore Truman was able to say that the responsibility was on Congress; soon tables will be turned—when, for instance Congress puts on Truman's table a restrictive labor bill containing features which he vetoed in the original Case bill. What will he do then? Also, the big war investigations will be coming along shortly. GOP Chairman Reece gave the tip-off in his Chicago Lincoln Day speech when he declared there is evidence of "corruption" among former New Deal officials and added mysteriously, "We may expect additional evidence along that line during the coming months." Heigh-ho, it won't be long now.

GOVERNOR Dewey, in his Lincoln Day speech, contrasted parliamentary government with congressional, to the disadvantage of the former. In the United States, he said, "You know what the government will be after election day. Ours is the only system where you can make sure." We respectfully dissent. Under the Canadian or British system you get a disciplined party, pledged one way or the other to a careful program. Under the American system election emphasis is apt to be on the man, not the party. Could the electors be "sure," as Dewey claims, how Warren Harding would stand on the League of Nations? Of course not, because he was pledged both ways. And now, last November, the nation sent half a thousand congressmen to Washington, picked mostly as individuals, and we have been trying ever since to decide what precise "mandate" they had.

WE HAVE been going over the annual report of the Federal Communications Commission, hoping for new restrictions on advertising. They aren't there. It's fascinating to consider the effect of the modern radio on our civilization, young and old alike. We know of one four-year-old boy, for instance, who was taken to church recently for the first time, and asked what he thought of it. "I liked the singing and the organ all right," said the Little Innocent, "but the commercial was too long."

Washington T. R. B.

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Brahmin from Boston

by Joseph F. Dinneen

Senator Saltonstall won by proving to Massachusetts that a Republican, too, could think politically in terms of people

THE Republican Party in Massachusetts is one in which Leverett Saltonstall is a left-winger," is a definition that makes the Boston bluebloods shudder and the Boston Irish grin. Both vote for him, but some bluebloods close their eyes when they so do, while the Boston Irish keep theirs open. As wartime Governor, he spoke of Roosevelt often as "Our Great President" and meant it—a heresy to coupon-clipping Republican Roosevelt-haters, but music to the ears of the Boston Irish. He had to have Democratic votes to be elected Governor and Senator and he still has them. They're reasonably safe and he intends to keep them so.

To his own party in the state he is a problem child who dominates it. To the social set on Beacon Hill, he is "Lev," a wonder boy whose political eccentricities make them cheer and choke. To the Boston Irish, in rough, tough South Boston, he is "Salty," and although he is not properly baptized, they have forgiven and forgotten it. After all, he is a member of the Charitable Irish Society by virtue of an obscure ancestor found somewhere in his family tree. If he hadn't found one to qualify himself, probably they would have found one for him. He's their boy, too.

To most Bostonians, Saltonstall was a Mayflower name (Sir Richard Saltonstall: the *Arbella,* 1630) in history books until Leverett bobbed up from Newton in the state legislature a few years after World War I. He started from the bottom of the political escalator as a member of the Newton board of aldermen. He had a war record, overseas service and a commission as a lieutenant in the 301st Field Artillery that he had won the hard way. He had married Alice Wesselhoeft, daughter of Boston's leading surgeon. He met her in dancing school when she was eleven, and from that time on she was his girl. They settled in a big house to raise a large family—and even in this they were more like the Boston Irish than the Boston Brahmins.

Nobody paid much attention to him in the state house of representatives. He was just another blueblood, another Saltonstall lawyer in a long line of them in a state where old families are a drug on the market. A Harvard-trained conservative, he spoke with the approved accent and, like a true Republican gentleman, voted precisely as he was told by the Republican whip. Massachusetts Republicans that year wrote one of the worst labor records in decades. The American Federation of Labor damned them to hell; even the statehouse scrubwomen held their noses when one passed by. Saltonstall looked about to find the cause of the stink. He knew he didn't mean to do anything like that; but there it was. That's how the liberal education of Leverett Saltonstall began.

That kind of record hurt him not a bit in his district, a bedroom of Boston bankers, brokers and bond salesmen, but he disliked the character his party had made of him. He felt as if he were in the right church but the wrong pew, and next term he began to ask questions of the Boston Irish and the Boston Italians in the legislature. To his astonishment, he discovered they had a lot to say. Before long he was patiently interpreting the Boston Irish and the Boston Italians to Boston Brahmins and upstate Yankees, and trying desperately to make the Boston Irish, particularly, understand that they could do business with Brahmins and Yankees.

More and more he found himself walking down the middle road of compromise; he began to learn how the Irish regularly captured city and state offices at election time. He was getting a clearer and more accurate idea than most Republicans of the anatomy of Democratic machines and he began to develop skill in identifying the bait that attracts votes. He was utterly honest—painfully so at times. He could not shut his eyes to the corruption around him, but he shut his mouth in grim disapproval and refused to play stool pigeon. Reform, he was sure, would never come that way. At the end of his third term he was the only representative in the house whom both sides would trust and he was elected Speaker in 1929, a job he held for the next eight years.

Massachusetts' angry man

ONE of his first acts as Speaker was to hire as his secretary a tough-fibered, hard-boiled newspaper reporter, Daniel J. Lynch of the South Boston Irish. Lynch knew all the twisting ways of Boston politics and the leavening of Leverett was about complete. He crossed swords with Governors Hurley and Curley, tangled with Democratic leaders and leaders of his own party. When either tried to put something over, he became the state's angry man, direct and disconcerting. He cleaned up dirty legislation quietly by backing sponsors of shakedown bills into corners and forcing them to withdraw.

When a particularly outrageous piece of shakedown was on the verge of passing, he rose in wrath, slammed the gavel

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Joseph Dinneen, of the Boston Globe, *is the author of the novel,* Ward Eight. *He has been for years one of Boston's leading political analysts.*

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and adjourned the house, taking the gavel with him so that nobody could carry on in his absence. When members swarmed into his office shrieking "Dictator!" he set them back on their heels with language that no Brahmin should ever use. They understood him perfectly and the bill died. Whenever his decisions as Speaker were questioned, Democrats joined Republicans to support him. It was inevitable that he would be a candidate for Governor. Labor now approved him.

Curley outsmarts himself

JAMES MICHAEL CURLEY elected him. He didn't intend to. That was the thing furthest from his mind. Curley was being funny—always a disastrous thing for him. One of the most skillful politicians in the state's history, he forgot that the Brahmin had come to know the Boston Irish and their ways. As a joke, Curley gave Saltonstall the only thing he needed to sweep the state, an "Irish face."

Saltonstall's face does not mean as much to the rest of the country as it does to Boston, where people are familiar with it. It is one of the most unbeautiful heads that God ever set on a man's shoulders, long and angular with long teeth and a cow-catcher chin. He looks like an American Indian named "Horse-face," and he wears his clothes in a way that accentuates the illusion. People in Boston have been poking fun at Saltonstall's face for years. He doesn't mind a bit; sometimes he contributes original ideas of his own about it. It has been described as a well worn US antique and the most distinctive face in American public life. During the 1937 campaign, the late Boston *Transcript,* the old lady of Boston journalism, described Saltonstall as a man with a Back Bay name and a South Boston face. That did it.

Before South Boston had a chance to get mad about it, Curley quipped on the radio, "Saltonstall may have a South Boston face, but he doesn't dare show it in South Boston." Curley should have known better and ruefully admitted it later. Saltonstall did exactly what Curley would have done if the situation had been reversed. He appeared in South Boston early next day, walking up Broadway, dropping in at bars and taverns, making himself known. He said hello to the local pastors and clergy; to kids on sand lots and back lots. People on the streets knew him. They couldn't miss him. He talked like Back Bay, but acted like South Boston, and he reminded everybody that Curley said he had a South Boston face and was afraid to show it in South Boston, and invited them to hear him speak that night at his South Boston rallies. "I may have a South Boston face," he told one cheering audience after another. "If so, I'm proud of it. But one thing you may be sure of—it's the same face before and after election."

Metropolitan Boston (Boston proper and the cities and towns surrounding it within a radius of 15 miles from the statehouse) is the tail that wags the dog in Massachusetts. It outvotes the rest of the state. A candidate can come down to the Boston line with a whopping plurality from the outside towns and cities and see it wiped out and overturned by the vote of the metropolitan district. That year Saltonstall came down to the Boston line with a whopping plurality and the metropolitan district magnified it for him.

Direct action

WHEN he took office, Boston was tied up by a truck strike that was slowly paralyzing the state. Milk and bread deliveries had stopped. Public clamor was mounting. City and state negotiators had been trying to settle it and were getting nowhere. On the fifth day of his administration he learned that the truck drivers' union was holding a meeting. He put on his hat and coat, called his Commissioner of Labor and Industries, James T. Moriarty, to his office, and in a few minutes both were on their way, uninvited and unexpected, to the truck drivers' local. They went in the back door, which led to the stage. Saltonstall walked out on it in the middle of the meeting and said: "I'd like to make a proposition to you men."

He didn't think it was dramatic. He didn't do it for theatrical effect. He had something to say and that was the shortest, quickest and most direct way of getting it over. They listened to him. There was nothing else they could do. He told them that if they would return to work he, personally, would see to it that they were treated fairly and squarely in arbitration. The men went back to work and in the final settlement won almost all they had asked for.

Leader of a new party

SALTONSTALL had now departed the traditional Republican reservation in Massachusetts and he went on to give his party leaders the jitters. They no longer influenced him. He influenced them, and since they had no place else to go in Massachusetts, they winced, closed their eyes tightly, hung on to his coattails and went along for the ride. War was impending. Saltonstall knew it. He decided that Roosevelt's foreign policy was right and said so out loud. Massachusetts Republicans were isolationists. They hated Roosevelt and everything for which he stood. It was Roosevelt's personal war, as far as they were concerned, and they wanted no part of it. Democrats cheered "Lev" as a great Governor. Liberal Republicans, and there was a surprisingly large number of them, hopped on his bandwagon with enthusiasm.

By now, Saltonstall was free of all the ancient, creaky, moldy, cobweb-covered beliefs and traditions of Yankee Republicanism. He had fashioned a new party. It was popular, and he was the party. He supported the war and Roosevelt's foreign policy to the hilt. He decided the New Deal did not have a Democratic corner on all social reform, adopted and adapted what he liked about it and rejected the rest. He gave the statehouse a thorough house cleaning, stopped waste, lowered taxes, upped efficiency, increased public services, cut down their cost, and even found time to give some of the backsliders among his department heads a heart-to-heart talk about the evils of drinking too much. It takes Saltonstall four hours to consume one highball. Long before Pearl Harbor he had the state so well organized for national defense that the Office of Civilian Defense held it up as a model.

Saltonstall has always seemed to feel that, because he is wealthy and

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independent, he has to do things the hard way if only to prove to himself that he has what it takes. He could have had a commission for the asking in World War I, but he started from scratch. His son, Peter, might have had a lush berth and an easy commission in World War II, but he started from scratch, too. He was a sergeant in the Marine Corps when he was killed in action in the Solomons. The Boston Irish felt badly about that, but there was nothing they could do or say. They knew Saltonstall wouldn't want them to. He has never mentioned it in public. He probably never will.

In the Senate, he continues to depart further and further from traditional Bay State Republicanism. He was opposed to Byrnes's "Get Tough with Russia" policy, although he hates communism and opposes it violently. He would go slow on tampering with labor laws. He wants good homes, good wages, good working conditions and greater security for the worker and his children, but he expects a man to work hard and to produce goods. Labor in Massachusetts is on his side. Labor knows it can trust him.

The hard way

He will probably follow the same pattern in the US Senate that he followed in the house in Massachusetts. As long as he is uncertain and unfamiliar with legislation before him, he will follow the party line and vote Republican. He will be docile and amiable and tractable until he gets his feet on the ground and finds out what it's all about or until the party line runs afoul of his personal principles, and then he'll blow up and become the Senate's angry man. He doesn't pose or fence or play the social game. His unimpressive voting record in the Senate up to now is perhaps misleading. Saltonstall is a plodder and never rushes his thinking. He did not have time to study and digest and arrive at conclusions on some of the measures in the Senate before he was required to vote on them. That's why some of his votes on the record now seem to be in conflict with his position or his character. He can't be pushed. He still has to do it alone: the hard way.

"Let's Look at the Record"

by Richard Strouse

Philadelphia lost its liberal newspaper and 600 employees lost their jobs because a personality and a union couldn't agree

THE NIGHT the Philadelphia *Record* suspended publication and left the third largest city in the country without a liberal newspaper, seven men were working in lonely islands of activity in the huge city room. Editor Harry Saylor tapped City Editor Fred Shapiro on the shoulder.

"The old man sold it," Saylor said.

"Anyway, we won," someone said. When the bulldog edition had been put to bed, someone else, pouring a round of J. David Stern's excellent Scotch, asked, "Who wins when a paper dies?"

Four hours later, at the American Newspaper Guild strike headquarters diagonally across Broad Street from the *Record* building, Fred Schector entered with a copy of next morning's *Record*.

"A printer stuck this in my face and said 'Lock what you bastards did'," Schector reported. The strikers crowded around Schector. "This is the last issue of the Philadelphia *Record* under my management," they read in a boxed front-page announcement signed by Stern. Two girl strikers began to cry.

Stern's announcement publicized the surprise ending of a calamitous chapter in newspaper history. On November 7, 1946, the American Newspaper Guild's Local 10 struck the three daily papers owned by J. David Stern. On January 31, 1947, Stern sold the papers, with his recently acquired radio station thrown in. Five hundred and seventy-eight Guild members were out of work. A man who once had been one of liberalism's most uncompromising voices had retired from publishing. A machine-controlled Republican city of two million was left with no progressive paper. Camden, New Jersey, a machine-controlled Democratic city of more than 100,000, was left with no local papers at all. The 77-year-old *Record* was the eleventh daily to fold in Philadelphia.

The strike and sale were tragic and surprising because the publisher was Stern and one of the papers was the Philadelphia *Record*. For years, Stern had been a militantly liberal publisher and public figure. He was a close friend of Franklin Roosevelt's and, almost alone among major American publishers, had consistently supported the New Deal. He had been the first publisher to sign a Newspaper Guild contract, and had been an ardent supporter of the Guild and of labor in general. His contracts with the Guild were held up as models before the hard eyes of less friendly publishers. His *Record*, which had been described as "a happy paper," had been one of the great liberal voices of the past 20 years.

Plot against liberalism?

STERN blamed the tragedy on American Communists, who, he said, were afraid of liberalism because it might be able to make capitalism function equitably. Communists who controlled the Guild, he claimed, had struck his papers in order to put them out of business and silence liberalism's strongest proponents in the Philadelphia area.

Whatever the truth of Stern's general charge, the facts were that Local 10 of the ANG had worked hard to obtain

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and retain its reputation as one of the most conservative of Guild units. The Philadelphia local had been one of the leaders of a fight within the Guild which, in 1941, had resulted in the election of a ticket of national officers all of whom were pledged to oppose communism. In the same year, Art Riordan, now the local's secretary and then a candidate for the local presidency, had ardently denounced communism and was promptly elected. During the *Record* strike, the Guild's national leadership, including anti-Communist president Milton Murray, was still this same group which Philadelphia guildsmen had helped vote into power.

The facts also were that during the strike, far from trying to put Stern's papers out of business, the Guild leaders spent a high percentage of their energies trying to reach Stern in order to negotiate a peace. Then, after the paper was suspended, Local 10's officers began frantically trying to find a liberal who would resume publication of the *Record*. They got in touch with Marshall Field, Morris Ernst and every liberal Philadelphia individual or group within reach.

Pioneer no longer

IN ADDITION to his charge of communism, Stern made two subsidiary arguments against the Guild. One was that the Guild insisted on trying to control management. The second was that the Guild should have concentrated its weapons against an employer less generous than Stern because its contract with the *Record* was the best in the country.

In the thirties, when Stern was the Guild's best and sometimes its only friend, his contracts were far better than those with other publishers. By 1946, however, the gap of benefits had narrowed, and the Guild's contract with the *Record*, while excellent in many respects, was no longer exceptional. Omitting New York, which Stern claims is too large to be compared with Philadelphia, the *Record's* contractual minimum wage for experienced reporters was $2 a week less than that of the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* and the Detroit *Times*, $4 a week less than the wage in Cleveland, $5 a week less than San Francisco and $5.25 a week less than on the Boston *Herald-Traveler*. (The number of years' experience a reporter needs to qualify for the minimum varies from four through six, but the variations balance each other out.) Conversely, the *Record's* minimum was higher than at some papers, though not strikingly so.

Hours and overtime on the *Record* were similar to those of most dailies. Three weeks' vacation with pay for all employees with five years' service was liberal when adopted by the *Record* in 1943, but became standard in most Guild contracts. Most papers granted six holidays to editorial workers; the *Record* granted three. More than half the Guild contracts provided for a night differential; the *Record* paid none.

All Guild contracts exempt a varying number of executives who hire and fire and set policy because the loyalty of such men would be split in case of a dispute between management and the Guild. Stern claimed that his contract's limit on exemptions was harsh. It is true that only six editorial executives were exempted on the *Record* compared to nine on the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, the competitive morning paper, but it is also true that three of the exempted *Inquirer* editors had no opposite numbers on the *Record*.

The only unusually liberal provision in the *Record's* 1945-46 contract was its job-security clause.

"No contract, no work"

DESPITE a handsome head start, labor-relations history had caught up with Stern. Last fall it began to pass him. The Guild negotiated many 1946-47 contracts while on strike against Stern. Chicago, Los Angeles, Cleveland and Detroit papers settled for an $85-per-week minimum for experienced reporters. Stern's highest and only offer was $78 per week.

For the 1945-46 period, Guild contracts were not signed with either the *Record* or the competitive *Inquirer*. In each case work continued while a different set of disputed points was negotiated throughout the year. The conservative *Inquirer* meticulously executed every benefit written by the Guild into the unsigned contract. The liberal *Record* did not. Stern claims it was understood that, except for wages, new benefits were not to be put into effect until all were agreed upon and that some could not reasonably be made retroactive. But the fact remained that *Inquirer* employees were obtaining the tangible results of benefits for which they had negotiated successfully, while *Record* employees were not.

Before negotiations on the new contracts opened on either paper, the *Record's* Guild unit decided to take a strike vote if a new contract had not been negotiated by the expiration date of the old, unsigned contract. The vote was publicized by Guild leaders as a "no-contract-no-work" decision. On the same day the *Inquirer* unit passed a milder resolution simply setting a date on which it would decide whether or not to strike.

The charges of bad faith

THE Guild explains the difference between the two votes in terms of intent. To the Guild, the *Record* had seemed to be negotiating in bad faith on the old contract and its Guild unit therefore took a strong position. The *Inquirer* had seemed to be negotiating in good faith and its unit felt that such a strong position was not necessary. In the light of Stern's volatile personality and good early record with the Guild, it might have been sounder tactically for the Guild units to have passed identical resolutions.

What happened next was that Guild negotiations with the *Inquirer* management went on while those with the *Record* broke down. Then Stern came through with an offer that contained the same terms which the guildsmen had already rejected over at the *Inquirer*. The Guild leaders again contended that Stern was bargaining in bad faith. For his part, Stern contended that since he was offering the same new wage proposals as the *Inquirer*, it would be discriminatory to strike against him.

But the Guild proceeded with its plan to compel Stern to bargain seriously. Maybe its tactics were not good. Unless it wanted a strike, which seems extremely unlikely, the Guild badly misjudged Stern's personality. Wages proposed in a compromise offer made to Stern were actually higher than those proposed to the *Inquirer* at about the same time. The "no-contract-no-work" phrase made for bad public relations.

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Yet it is difficult to see that the Guild was guilty of anything more than an unwillingness to live on memories. As a progressive trade union interested in the welfare of its members, the Guild considered rates of pay and contract benefits more important than either the reputation or the history of the publisher with whom it was negotiating. Most Philadelphia Guild members were unhappy about striking the *Record* because they enjoyed working on the paper and admired its publisher. Forced to choose between their groceries and affections, they chose groceries.

Personalities v. issues

THE day before the strike call, Mickey Harris, president of the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, asked the Guild to give him a week to bring reason out of misunderstanding. He felt that the stalemate was due to personalities rather than issues. He contacted Stern, whom he knew, and was able to settle the old contract with Stern's representatives. It was initialed the day after its expiration date. But no progress was made on the new contract. Harris finally arranged a meeting between Stern and the Guild negotiators. The Guild made an offer and Stern, a paunchy, round-faced man who wears heavy-rimmed glasses, made a speech. He was being persecuted, he said, by an organization he had helped to establish; the Guild's proposals were unreasonable. The meeting broke up.

About one-third of the *Record's* Guild unit had voted against the strike, but when the time came every man and woman covered by Guild contracts on the three Stern papers walked out, with one exception: he resigned rather than strike. The rest who had been in opposition accepted the mandate of majority rule and performed their fair share of strike duties, while openly opposing the Guild leadership on many matters. In fact, the leader of the opposition, Art Pierce, was elected president of Local 10 while the strike was in progress.

"It's a strange newsroom here at the *Record*," Harry Saylor wrote in the November 8 issue of his struck paper. "Rows of empty desks. . . . No telephone bells ringing. . . . Nobody yelling 'Copy boy!' . . . No copy readers bent

DON'T BE FOOLED — HEAR OUR SIDE!
NEARLY EVERYBODY ISN'T READING THE PHILADELPHIA RECORD
THE REAL RECORD
STERN FORCES STRIKE ON STAFF
No. 2
GI's to Boost 'Free' Taxi Fleet to 300
THE REAL RECORD
NEWS YOU CAN'T GET ELSEWHERE AT ANY PRICE
Striking—to Say the Least
PRESS-RADIO CLAMP GAG
Headlines Tell the Story: Soaring Cost of Living Shrinks Workers' Pay
Issue No. 3
Free
City's Gas Rates Go Up 7½ to 15 P. C. on Jan. 1
Truman Washes Out Housing Controls
THE REAL RECORD
STERN ASKS WORKERS TO TAKE PAY CUT
No. 4
'King of Quacks' Schireson Faces Showdown
THE REAL RECORD
Free
She's Dreamlined
Rationing Of Liquor
HERE'S STORY STERN
No. 5
FREE
Vets Sold Down River on Housing
THE REAL RECORD
Bitter Brawl Over Judges Likely Here
May Shakeup PUC
STERN'S OFFER DWARFED
No. 6
FREE
Inside Story of the Bok-Stern Letters
THE REAL RECORD
No. 7
FREE
Our Life Story: Fastest Growing Paper
THE REAL RECORD
No. 8
FREE
Exclusive (No Other Paper will Print It): Complete Story of Strike
THE REAL RECORD
No. 9
FREE
Reporters Pick 'Most Beautiful Showgirl'
THE REAL RECORD
Stern Quits—Guild Strike Goes On
Publisher Sells Out

THE GUILD GAVE AWAY 200,000 "REAL RECORDS" EACH WEEK

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over the large horseshoe-shaped desk. Instead, six or eight executives handling the telegraph and cable news.

"Those men and women and boys and girls who walked out—a substantial majority of them—believed they were right. Those of us 'on the other side of the table' are equally certain that our position is correct. I think there was a good deal of regard—perhaps even respect—by each side for the other side's point of view."

Saylor's were the last generous words to be published about a strike that started in sorrow and ended in anger. They were almost the last words of any kind. Except for the first day, neither the *Inquirer* nor the *Evening Bulletin* devoted more than a few lines to the strike. Both papers ran Stern's full-page ad but refused to publish a rebuttal from the Guild. Only one radio station allowed the Guild time on the air. While strikers were being clubbed and jailed for picketing, the *Record* ran a recurring squib reporting "no new developments." The Guild published the first issue of its "Real Record" during the strike's third week—many who were handed free copies said they hadn't known the *Record* had been struck.

A striker reports

"Lord, what the *Record* would have done once with a strike story like this," striking columnist Charles Fisher wrote in the "Real Record," "with a city police force virtually in private hands, with a callous, senseless brutality picked up casually as a weapon. We'd have ripped and snorted and we'd have been sincere in it. Maybe Mr. Stern would have been so angry that he'd have said, as he often did, 'I'll write that editorial myself.' And troubled people would have found in the *Record* the old assurance that one paper at least was concerned for decency and human dignity."

In Philadelphia, most of the people who read the *Bulletin* didn't read about a truck which was prevented by the strikers from unloading newsprint. Toughs relieved the driver and backed the truck into a line of strikers. Camden, a CIO town that hasn't restricted picketing for years, tried to restrict the *Courier-Post* strikers to eight pickets at each plant entrance. A 52-year-old picket captain was arrested three times in one day, once on the charge of failing to produce his draft card. The infringement of civil rights became so unbearable in Camden that the Industrial Union Council declared a CIO holiday. Thousands of men and women left their jobs to demonstrate at the *Courier-Post* plant.

Higher finance

Now, why did J. David Stern finally decide to pull down his whole newspaper house rather than settle? To begin with, there was the fact that in October, 1946, when Stern bought radio station WCAU, the Columbia Broadcasting System outlet in Philadelphia, he had liens of $2.5 million outstanding against his three newspapers. He needed a $3 million credit to obtain WCAU and refinanced his properties with a combined new loan of $5.5 million. Perhaps because Stern's properties were shaky, or perhaps because he was not considered an efficient manager, Stern had to pay the high interest rate of 4.5 percent. During negotiations with the Guild, Stern insisted that ability to pay was not an issue. However, since he contended after selling the paper that the Guild's "excessive demands" had forced him out of business, it is possible that he wanted to keep his books closed to prevent his creditors from learning his financial situation.

Yet a more satisfactory explanation of Stern's tough behavior before and during the strike would seem to be that he held a sincere belief that his employees were ungraciously biting the hand that had fed them when they were hungriest. Despite the statistical proof that his contract was no longer an exceptionally good one, Stern thought of himself as the Great White Father of the American Newspaper Guild. When his children asked to be treated as well as were the Great Yellow Father's children, he decided first that the children were ingrates, then that they were foolish, and finally—as he became obsessed by the notion that he was being persecuted—that his employees were Communists seeking to destroy him and his beliefs. By the time he appeared in Washington to tell the House Education and Labor Committee about the sale, his language had become hysterical; he described himself as a "broken old man" who wanted to make a "public confession"—the burden of which was that he regretted he had ever been the liberal J. David Stern who had recognized newspapermen's right to organize.

If a complicated psychological phenomenon can be summarized in a phrase, Stern sold his properties because the emotional burden of the strike and the financial burden of his extended position rocked against each other and chafed him until they broke his spirit. This position is supported by the evidence of an observer who stated that Stern changed his mind several times before deciding to sell.

Jobs wanted

Two weeks after the *Record's* suspension, the Guild was still on strike. Its contract, it claimed, had to be assumed by anyone who bought the *Record*. A few strikers had rejoined Stern and were helping him clean house. A few more had been hired by the new Sunday *Bulletin*. The rest sat around strike headquarters and talked, over red, yellow and blue oilcloth table covers, of getting jobs. "If I'd known the job wasn't going to last I wouldn't have taken it," a man who had been with the *Record* since 1912 remarked. "Newspapers are like women," an attractive girl reporter said dogmatically, "if you handle them too roughly, they break."

Across Broad Street, J. David Stern sat behind the big desk that made him look smaller than he was and tried to get his files and his thoughts in order. The girl in his outer office sometimes forgot her instructions. She had been told to say a simple "Yes?" when answering the phone, but occasionally habit was too strong for her and she said "Philadelphia *Record*" instead. As Stern left after another confusing day, he had to pass a row of mounted news photographs that faced the elevators. One of the pictures was of Franklin Roosevelt accepting the Democratic Party's 1932 nomination for President. A second was of the King of England picking asparagus. A third was of a bloody striker being led away from a violent melee by two brawny policemen.

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Awkward Moments

J. Parnell Thomas subpoenas the wrong Marx

Sen. Bilbo is served a black and white soda

Dewey commits himself

Rankin discovers he has pink toothbrush

Hearst finds an underground movement he can't pin on the reds

Drawings by Ajay

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Report from Britain

by Howard K. Smith

LONDON, February 14. – About the middle of January, what the weather men call a high-pressure area swirled together like an ethereal snowball somewhere above Archangel and began to move in a graceful right hook over Scandinavia toward England, sucking the Siberian cold with it. What is called a low-pressure area, scheduled to move warmingly toward Scotland, was deflected toward the Balkans, denuding Britain of her meteorological clothing just about the time Siberia reached Yorkshire.

Largely as a result of these circumstances, the most compact economy in Europe was literally paralyzed and became as unproductive as Antarctica or Zululand. Europe's best established government west of Moscow buckled momentarily at the knees. London political commentators, not given to sanguine predictions, weighed consequences still farther-reaching and speculated on the crisis of middle-road socialism in a Europe which might surrender its politics to extremists. They speculated on the prospect of sharp twists in the threads of foreign policy that reach around the globe, and about the possibility of grave dislocations in the present precarious equilibrium among the great powers.

What hurt was not the cold. There have been several colder spells in Britain between the wars. It was the violent three-day blizzard that was somehow brewed by the Archangel winds. It was the worst since 1894, according to Fuel Minister Emanuel Shinwell, both in severity and universality. It heaped three to 20 feet of snow on a country which is usually the warmest winter spot north of the Alps and which was equipped to do nothing about it.

England's garden-country landscape presented a curious spectacle. Hedgerows and trees disappeared in unbroken deserts of snow that left just a foot or so of telephone-pole tips as the only visible things. Towns and villages were isolated as though they were in Tibet rather than in the most densely civilized and populated piece of earth in the European world, and had to be supplied with food by parachute. That is, when planes could find villages in the gray invisibility. In Staffordshire, central England, planes were unable to find one cluster of snowed-in towns for a week, and finally had to drop a paratrooper where the towns were thought to be and have him set up a radar station in order to direct planes.

Early this week the weather let up for twenty-four hours, as if to delude people that the worst was over just before it wound up with an even harder slug. Just enough snow melted so that when the cold returned the next day it became encrusted ice. Almost every major inter-town highway in the country became icebound and 120 of them were completely blocked by rocklike drifts.

Most miners come through

COAL, the corpuscular essence of Britain's bloodstream, coagulated at the source. The miners had to dig their way from doorstep to pithead, and many gave up. Many of those who reached the pits were unable to get home at night because the pitheads were snowed under.

Nonetheless, the coal miners did admirably. Contrary to gloomy predictions they turned out within 200,000 tons of the amount of coal of the previous blizzardless week and considerably more than the same week of the previous year. Canal barges were frozen stationary. The country, without icebreakers, desperately tried to improvise them with teams of eight horses drawing blunt-nosed flatboats at a gallop, while the occupants of the boats rocked them violently in order to spread the impact as far as possible. The coastwise coal ships were held in northeastern coal harbors when the lock gates froze. Upon these coal ships, London, far-and-away the island's biggest consumer of coal for electricity, depends.

When the gates were opened the North Sea storms kept frail craft tied up in the ports. Britain's crisis in pitiful microcosm was exhibited in a small steel-foundry village in the north. Its furnaces were turned off and its workers were rendered unemployed because the coal from a pit less than 15 miles away could not be moved through the snow.

Coup de grace

THE government broke off what was a slow, creeping paralysis of industry with a coup de grace; all electricity for industry was cut off entirely within a broad slanting belt from London in the southeast to Lancashire in the northwest. Domestic consumers were put on their honor not to use power within three restricted morning hours and two hours in the afternoon. At first it appeared that the measures would suffice and be short-lived, but when the refreeze hit, shockingly sharper steps had to be taken.

Domestic cuts were extended to the whole island and were taken off the voluntary basis—maximum penalties for violating the restricted hours included a fine equivalent to $2,000 or two years' imprisonment. A wartime blackout was clamped on 80 percent of the island. More than half of Britain's industry was shut off. Unemployment figures rose to an all-time record—two million, according to the Ministry of Labor, and four or five million according to the Tory press.

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And it is clear that the pre-blizzard export level, which was already insufficient, will not be regained for months to come.

Labor takes a beating

IT IS undeniable that the Labor Government's high prestige has taken a beating. Shinwell's argument that the basic faults were an unforeseeable blizzard and the dilapidation of machinery in electric plants, mines and railways, for which he cannot be held responsible, are valid. But the public, chilled to the bone, suddenly frightened about the future and possessed with a human need for a human agent to blame, is susceptible to more immediate logic. It is undeniable that coal is the spinal column of the British body politic and economic. Special foresight in its use is called for. It is true there was no slack for rationing coal for industry, which had been living hand-to-mouth, with nothing left over to save. However, 40 percent of the coal that goes into electric-power plants serves domestic consumption, where there was plenty of slack that could have been drawn on for reserves during the summer and autumn. It would have been unpopular to force more austerity on the people, but that is the risk that a government working on an economic shoestring has to take.

Measuring Labor's loss of prestige is difficult. If I had to adopt a working hypothesis at this early stage, as to the effect of the crisis on public opinion, I would accept the verdict of a liberal MP friend. "There is no doubt that Labor suffered a severe setback with the public. But people are still not willing to go over to the Tories. They are mad at Labor but are tacitly willing to give it another chance."

This verdict would seem borne out by the reaction of the independent and liberal press, which generally speaks its mind on issues of the moment with non-partisan honesty and probably well reflects the opinions of a decisive portion of the electorate—the floating voters. The tone of the independents has been one of stern reproof. The *Times* raised its voice slightly above the conversational level for the first time since Labor came into power, saying, "Mr. Shinwell persists in stating that everything possible was done to avert the dislocation. Facts hardly bear this out. The dangers had been clearly foreseen for months past. The way of preparing to meet them was not obscure but it was unattractive. The primary responsibility must rest with the Minister."

But nowhere is there the implication that Labor's long-term plans have broken down or that its past record is unsatisfactory. In fact, most of the middle-road press cites as an example of what Labor should have done what it already has done in another field—Food Minister John Strachey's unpopular but, in retrospect, prophetic introduction of bread rationing during the late summer.

The Tories overplay their hand

MEANWHILE the Tory publicists had a hard time concealing their glee in finding, at long last, a vulnerable spot in Labor's armor. Their propaganda effort showed occasional great skill. In the paralyzed steel villages, factory owners posted the catchy slogan, "Labor's been in since '45 and still going wrong." Labor's now famous electoral slogan, "Let's face the future," was turned to good use in the Conservative press by twisting it to: "The cabinet's too busy facing the future to face the present."

However, the Conservatives overplayed their hand, revealing a card doubtless reserved for a more favorable future: that of coalition. Coalition talk gradually spread from the intemperate *Daily Mail* to more responsible Conservative newspapers like Anthony Eden's Yorkshire *Post,* which published rumors that Attlee was on the verge of handing over the cabinet to Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, whose foreign policy has made him highly acceptable to the Tories.

Among British Laborites the word "coalition" carries the same dreadful connotation as the word appeasement. The last time Labor yielded power and invited the Tories to form a coalition in the depression of the thirties, the Labor Party came dangerously near dissolution. Another peacetime coalition would very likely split it right down the middle and destroy it as a political entity.

Tory pressure for a coalition swiftly produced a strong reflex action inside the Labor Party: Labor MP's who rebelled against the government in the House last Friday were back solidly in line in the House on the following Monday. Labor Minister George Isaacs was sent out into the provinces to tell the people that Labor would intensify rather than relax its socialization program as a result of the crisis. The miners flooded Shinwell's office with telegrams of support and approval.

Down, but not out

THOUGH it would be ridiculous to minimize the severe effects of the present crisis on Britain and the Labor Party, there are signs that there may be a number of blessings mixed with the blow. A similar crisis was on the calendar for Britain some time or other. Forced to occur now first by the intervention of the blizzard and, second, by the administrative mistakes of Shinwell, it may induce Labor to correct its outstanding weakness: its neglect of public relations, due partly to inexperience and partly to the "we-are-in-forever" complex that attended its landslide triumph at the general elections. There are distinct signs that the necessity to cut down Britain's exorbitant forces abroad in order to add manpower to industry has been realized by more Labor MP's; there follows on this the realization that a foreign policy of international conciliation is the only one that Britain can afford. These are all speculative results.

One benefit that is certain is: Great Britain's people have at last been made dramatically aware of their nation's condition, and of the impossibility of attaining the old standard of living without years of hard work and austerity.

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Exclusive—

Peron's Atomic Plans

by William R. Mizelle

Argentina includes top-flight European nuclear scientists in a program to exploit rich new uranium discoveries

WITH world-famous German atom-splitter Werner Heisenberg invited to come to Argentina by Peron's government, and with a major uranium source discovered in Argentina, that nation is launching a military nuclear-research program to crack the Pandora's box of atomic energy wide open.

Argentina's determined atomic adventure and its frankly military purposes cannot be dismissed as the impractical dream of a small nation. She has the materials and the money, and she has made provisions to get the men with the necessary scientific and technical know-how to carry through the job.

Here, in brief, are the facts which compel serious consideration of Argentina's effort:

1. Argentina has uranium and thorium. In addition to the comparatively small previous workings of both these radioactive materials in the country, the uranium deposit discovered in the Argentine province of Mendoza late last year now promises to be a sizable and important uranium source.

2. Professor Werner Heisenberg, Nobel prize-winning Leipzig nuclear physicist, has been asked to come to Argentina to work for the government on a hush-hush basis. Heisenberg knows more about the how and why of nuclear fission than any living man except the handful of scientific pioneers who developed the atomic bomb.

3. Doctor Guido Beck, Czech-born theoretical physicist and former assistant to Heisenberg, is already in Argentina. Beck, a top-ranking atomic expert, has been quietly at work in the Cordoba hills of Argentina since May, 1943. He has organized an *Asociacion Fisica Argentina* composed of 110 of the country's most promising domestic and imported scientific minds.

4. Three Argentine congressional measures designed to provide funds, equipment and experts for the all-out Argentine atomic-research and development program, at first introduced in open sessions, have recently been reclassified as "secret military legislation." The Argentine Five-Year Plan clause making all "national-defense" expenditures unlimited and secret therefore applies to Argentina's atom-smashing project.

5. All uranium and thorium deposits in Argentina have been placed under control of the government for "national defense." All other materials which science may discover to be fissionable in the near future also have been earmarked beforehand for military use.

At first, scientists predicted little progress in Argentina's atom-splitting efforts due to the nation's lack of physicists and technicians with enough ability and experience. The Argentine government's invitation to Werner Heisenberg supplies one answer to this problem.

Heisenberg, inventor of modern quantum mechanics, was one of the leading contenders in the race among the scientists of the world to harness atomic power. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1931, when he was only 30 years old, for research work in atomic physics.

Officially, Heisenberg has been asked to come to Argentina to accept a post with a projected Navy Ministry *Instituto de Telecomunicaciones*. The function of this institute will be research and the instruction of personnel in electronic and other equipment.

Scientific circles in Buenos Aires conclude that there is little doubt that Heisenberg, working for the government, will have more to contribute to Argentina's atomic program than to the Navy Ministry's knowledge of electronics.

European physicist advises

GUIDO BECK is another atomic expert now holding a job somewhat out of his line in Argentina. He is officially the astrophysicist for the National Academy of Physical and Natural Sciences in Cordoba.

Beck, who was born in Czechoslovakia, has worked with most of the giants of nuclear physics—with Heisenberg in Germany, with the late Lord Ernest Rutherford at the Cavendish Laboratories in Cambridge and with Niels Bohr in Copenhagen. The first two atomic-research bills now in the Argentine Congress were submitted to him for consideration and advice. The world-known physicist sounded one brief sour note when he announced his objections to the first proposed research institute's being placed under the authority of the Ministry of War. Now, of course, all three of the planned atom-

William Mizelle was a newspaperman in Birmingham, Alabama, before the war. After serving as a lieutenant in the Navy, he worked for the UP in New York and is now writing for US magazines in Buenos Aires.

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splitting activitives have been militarized.

Significantly, the first paragraph of the bill to create the Argentine War Ministry atomic center provides for the "collaboration" of all laboratories conducting scientific research related to atomic energy in Argentina. Therefore any progress achieved in the field of nuclear physics in any of the nation's universities or independent laboratories also will be accessible to the War Ministry.

Both earlier bills were phrased in such a way that Beck and any other physicist working or teaching in Argentina are eligible for drafting into Argentina's nuclear-energy program.

In an exclusive interview with this writer recently, Beck pointed out that Argentina would have little difficulty in the refining of her radioactive ores.

Beck also believes that Argentina's present level of scientific and technical ability can duplicate the progress already made in the field of nuclear physics via the now well trodden paths that led to the atomic bomb.

Rich uranium discovery

A RICH vein of uranium was discovered last November in Mendoza. Two prospecting miners, Demetrio Ortega and Jose Gabrera Alvarez, noticed certain peculiar mineral formations in their chalk, clay and iron-oxide workings at San Isidro, Mendoza. They reported their find to the Mendoza Bureau of Geology and Mines. Analysis of samples of the deposit revealed the presence of uranium oxide ranging in proportion from 1.55 percent to 2.37 percent. Estimates of the extent of the vein since its discovery indicate that it will rank with the world's more important known radioactive deposits.

For some time Argentina has had relatively small uranium and thorium workings. In Cordoba Province, where Beck makes his headquarters, there are uranium mines at Cerro Blanco, Mina Angel and Viejo Despenado, Argentine army sources have revealed.

Even before the discovery of the Mendoza vein, Argentine Senator Miguel A. Tanco, asking approval of the bill nationalizing radioactive materials, told the Senate that, "based on the enormous significance of the fission of uranium and thorium, it may be said that the very survival of our nation depends upon it."

Unanimously approved by the Senate, the bill further set up four "boarding schools" to train mining prospectors and assayers. The biggest, with a capacity of 800 students, will be at Abra Pampa in the province of Jujuy. The other three, training 100 mining men each, will be at Villa Dolores in San Luis Province, at Chilecito in La Rioja and at Belen in Catamarca.

Atomic legislation

ARGENTINE national research and development in atomic power is the principal aim of the three congressional projects whose new provisions and present progress are going on behind the curtain of military secrecy.

Originally, the first bill asked for the creation of a "National Institute of Physico-Chemical Investigations" under the Ministry of War, with an initial appropriation of 20 million pesos—about $5 million—to carry out atomic research. This measure was introduced September 12 at the request of the Executive Branch of the Argentine government.

The second bill, proposed September 28, called for 200 million pesos—around $50 million—for a similar "Superior Institute of Scientific Investigations" for research in pure and applied sciences, among them nuclear physics.

The last bill, submitted to the Argentine Congress around the first of the year, was designed to start an intensive Argentine program for the training of native students and scientists in nuclear physics.

Reliable officials of the Argentine Senate report that these bills, now in committee, are being held up only by the demands of a number of Senators that their provisions be made even more ample.

No location was specified for Argentina's Superior Institute for atomic research in the bill which proposed its establishment. Guido Beck indicated that it would probably be located near the Atlantic coastline some distance south of Buenos Aires.

Possibly as a respectful nod toward Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the bill provides that the Superior Institute will be located "not within 50 kilometers (31 miles) of the outskirts of the National Capital."

Engineer Teofilo Tabanera, chief technical expert called in to advise on the installations for Argentina's atomic adventure, said in an exclusive interview with the writer that the Superior Institute's various buildings might be "dispersed throughout the country."

"The Argentine pampa provides ideal terrain for the Institute," Tabanera said. Southern Buenos Aires Province, he affirmed, has wide-open spaces similar to those at Los Alamos, New Mexico. He added that the various buildings would have to be several kilometers away from one another "for the sake of safety."

"Four walls are not enough," Tabanera went on. "The Superior Institute will have to have both a cyclotron and a Van de Graaf generator as soon as possible. A little time will be lost in getting the necessary technicians from abroad to build these machines, but they are basic necessities for our program.

"Argentina has all the materials she needs for building atomic reactors within her own borders.

"If we have laboratories that are big enough and sufficiently well equipped, more investigators and experts—all we need—will come."

Two years away

ROME wasn't built in a day and Hiroshima wasn't wrecked overnight. No all-out effort in nuclear research can give Argentina a quick or easy path to the atomic bomb. But hundreds of minor puzzles and problems confronted by the American specialists' group have been ironed out for the Argentines by restricted worldwide publication of their solutions.

It will still take Argentina at least two years—as it would any other nation—to produce practical quantities of fissionable materials and turn them into atomic weapons.

Argentina does, nevertheless, have as good a chance of succeeding eventually as any other nation that has launched an atomic project since the United States produced the atomic bomb.

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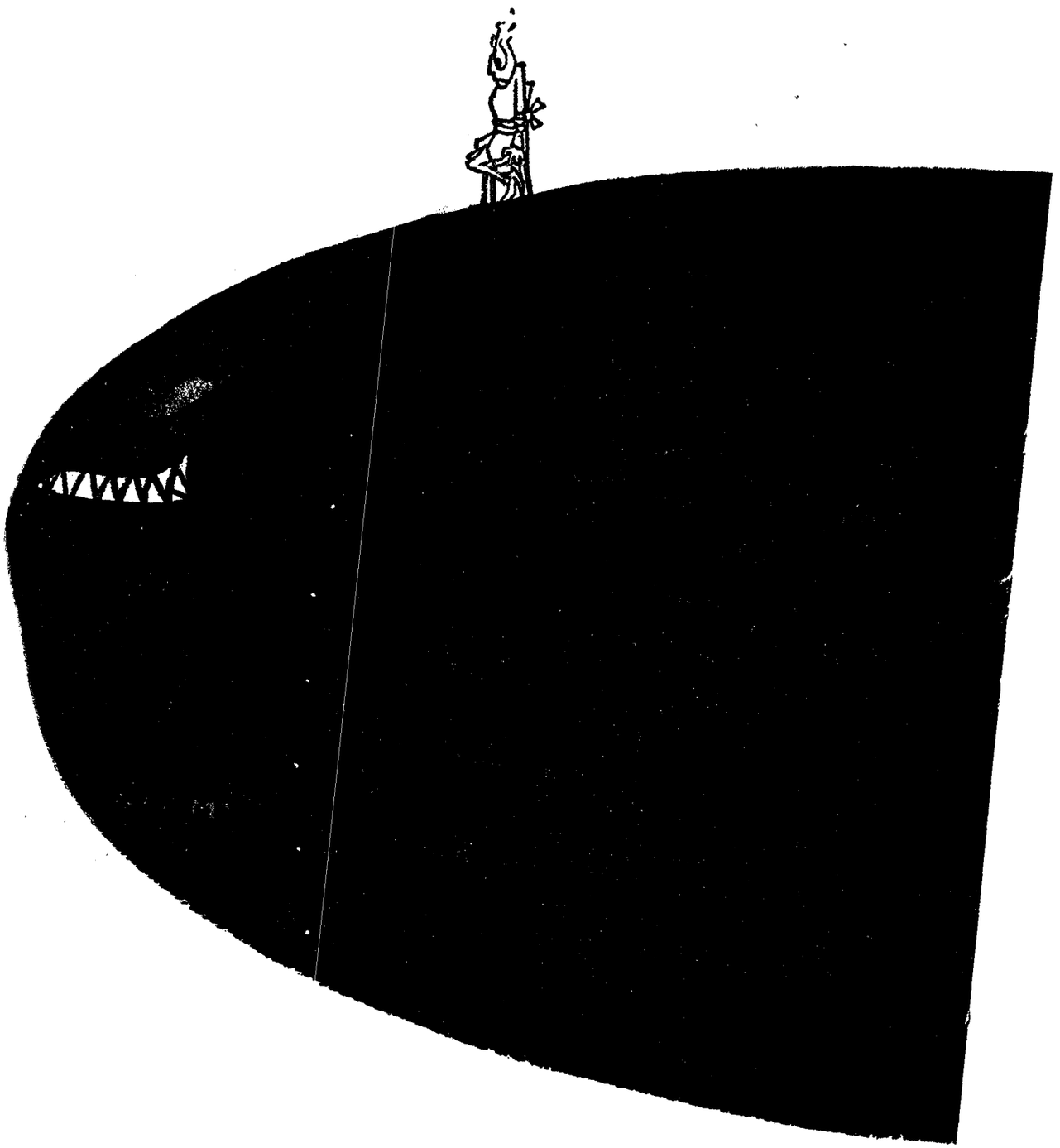

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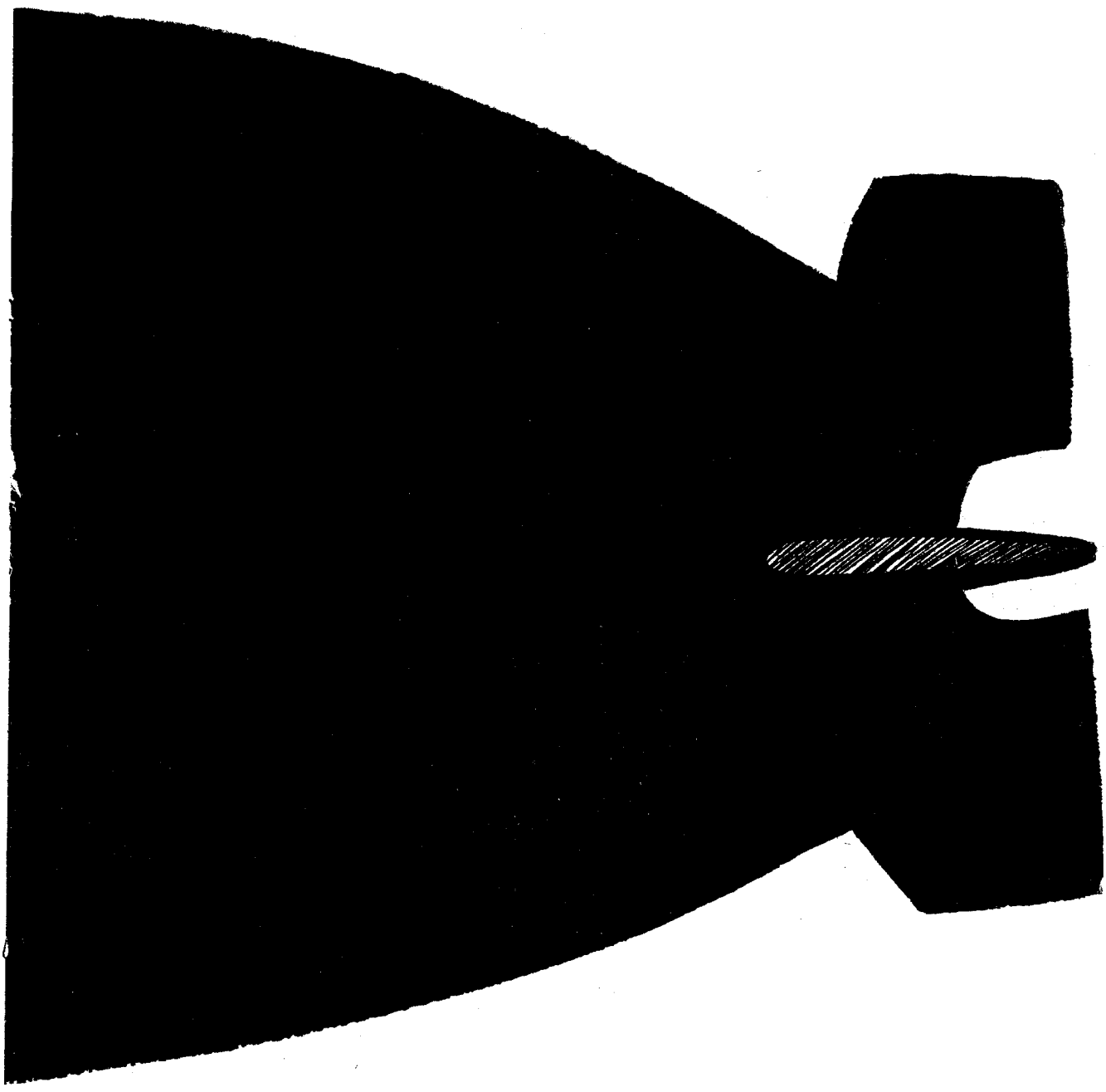

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Henry Wallace

The Buyers' Market

I HAVE been visiting with small and not so small businessmen in New York and Brooklyn trying to find out when the buyers' market would come. Even more important, I wanted to find out whether lower prices and surpluses would spread until they hurt the man of the house, through loss of his income, more than they helped his wife.

Take radios, washing machines and refrigerators, for example. Retailers expect a good demand throughout 1947, but at greatly reduced prices. Fifty minor radio manufacturers have gone out of business. Perhaps 25 more will soon fold up. They were high-cost producers and cannot make a quality product at competitive prices. By fall, consumers will be able to shop around for just the kind of radio and refrigerator they want, and as a result more of the weak competitors will go to the wall.

Everywhere I found great differences of opinion about the size of inventories. Most businessmen thought someone else was in danger of getting hurt but that in their own field the accumulations on the shelves were only normal and necessary to take care of the present large volume of business. It was chiefly in the agricultural lines that I found fear that large inventories might bring serious trouble in the near future. The butter-price smash has alerted all food dealers. A fruit-juice man pointed out what happened to the orange-juice business as a result of the collapse in the Florida orange market, and thought this situation might spread through a considerable part of the food market by fall. He himself paid farmers three times the 1940 price for grapes last fall and his bottles, priced accordingly, are on the grocery shelves. If they do not move at this price, he will be forced to pay farmers much less for grapes next fall.

Restaurants, night clubs and Florida hotels tell the story that the easy money has been spent. Hotel-keepers have had their costs increased until they must have an 85-percent occupancy in order to break even, whereas in the old days they could get by on 70 percent. Now, when real-estate taxes have begun to go up, the situation has changed and hotel-keepers see themselves caught in the pincers. Certainly very few new hotels will be built.

One of the leading men in the automobile business said recently that a buyers' market in cars is nearer than most people believe. The backlog of unfilled orders is much smaller than everyone thought and by 1948 it may take improved quality or lower prices to move cars. The recent break in used-car prices points the way.

Many merchants thought the holiday slump in prices of men's shirts and women's dresses was only temporary, since the price of cotton and the cost of labor had not gone down. Men's suits apparently will not break much during the next few months, because of increased, industrywide labor costs.

Only in the house-building business did I find absolutely clear-cut indications of continuing scarcity and high prices. But even here, people who have a choice are postponing building even though they have the blueprints drawn. Perhaps they are wrong in doing this, because there is every probability, even with a recession in general business, that building costs in 1948 will be almost as high as in 1947.

Books have gone so high in price that people are reported to be buying fewer of them. Newsstand sales of magazines and newspapers are down. Paper is still scarce and expensive, but by the end of the year the supply should begin to be easier.

ONE MAN who summed the whole situation up for me sells advisory services to several hundred big manufacturing concerns. Early in 1947 these concerns began to curtail buying. They are cutting down on their inventories and building up their cash reserves. This man says the depression is here and it is too late for anyone to stop it. Many of the banks, the insurance companies and the big manufacturers will get as liquid as they can and wait until the whole situation shakes down before they do any great volume of permanent investing. Some of these concerns feel there has always been a sudden fall in prices after every war and that there is no reason to expect a different result this time. Of course, one might comment, "The factor most likely to prevent a really serious depression is the fact that so many people expect one and have prepared themselves to go through it without serious trouble—unless those preparations are of a character which themselves bring on trouble."

A manufacturer who has made and is still making lots of money thinks that while there will be some bankruptcies as prices fall and the inefficient concerns go under, yet the main trend will be toward four or five years of prosperity. He thinks that men out of work

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because of strikes are better off than men out of work because they have been fired. When men are fired everyone in the neighborhood get scared and stops buying. But when men are on strike, the neighbors go right on buying. He thinks there will be enough strikes to prevent serious surpluses, but not so many as seriously to reduce purchasing power or needed production.

A few people tell me that big business is deliberately causing a depression so as to clean out the weak concerns, have a showdown with labor, and then buy in at the bottom of the market for the long upswing. I don't take much stock in this theory. If it were true that big business could deliberately cause a depression, we might well ask whether it could stop one, once it got started. Many businessmen now know how dangerous a recession would be, how easily it might slip into a depression, and how the depression, spreading to other nations, might encourage the development of ultra-radical institutions.

Once again I urge the Republican Congress continually to keep in touch with the key statistical agencies of government. Most of the men in these services are sincere servants of the general welfare and just as anxious to help Republicans as Democrats to prevent a depression. Republicans, because many of them stand better in the business community than most Democrats, can help the government agencies work out new key contacts with the business community designed to measure with precision the exact point at which it is necessary for either businessmen or government, or both of them acting together, to take decisive action.

The danger against which the Republicans will have to guard is the tendency to act too weakly and too late. By training and profession many of the Republican congressmen believe it is sinful for government to do any planning whatsoever. They might be forgiven for talking this way to get elected, but now that there is the possibility of a depression which can cause so much misery in the US, it is time for them to make plans to handle depression with as much vigor as we used when we prepared to win the war after Pearl Harbor.

As a freedom-loving American, theoretically I should like to go back to the old days when government spent less than a billion dollars a year and every businessman could do as he pleased, free from income taxes or regulation. But as a modern citizen I know that two wars have changed all that. Our federal budget will probably never go below $25 billion and may not go below $30 billion if we continue to take a "hard-boiled" attitude toward Soviet Russia. We may not require a completely planned economy, but we certainly shall have to do a lot of planning. The Republicans didn't like to see Democrats or New Dealers planning. Perhaps they will feel differently about it when they do it themselves. Of course, we want businessmen and workers to do everything they possibly can for themselves, without government interference of any kind. But in the process of raising and spending more than $25 billion every year, government inevitably has a tremendous effect on every businessman and worker in the US.

This means that we must develop, more consciously than ever before, a new science of the general welfare. The New Deal represented a fragmentary approach to such a science. The Republican Congress, if it is on its toes and anxious to prevent or mitigate the depression, must work out in detail the new science of joint governmental-business planning on the basis of maximum employment. The Employment Act of 1946 was just a beginning. It is the responsibility of the Republican Congress to build on that framework. The measure of its failure will be the degree to which unemployment at any one time passes beyond roughly two million. Personally, I hope the Republican Congress takes such wise action that unemployment never again reaches two million. The first step is for the appropriate committees in Congress to determine, week by week, just what is the inventory and unfilled-order situation. The second is to determine what is the investment policy and cash position of the big financial and manufacturing concerns. The third is to decide on the type and magnitude of government operations once it is apparent that unemployment threatens to exceed two million.

The most serious "budget unbalance" is men not at work. If the Republican Congress will think effectively in these terms, we need not fear a depression or any real danger to the capitalistic system, whether in the United States, Latin America or Western Europe.

The worldwide shortage of goods is greater than after World War I, but it would seem reasonably probable that the Republican Congress may have a serious problem in many agricultural lines before the year is over and that international action may be needed to handle some of these agricultural situations successfully.

The easy way for the Republican Congress to handle a new depression would be to intensify the Russian scare and say that there must be increased appropriations for the Army and Navy. Military expenditures and roads are the two kinds of governmental expenditure which appeal to many people as most respectable. Hitler used both methods with excellent success to stop unemployment in Germany. I sincerely hope the Republican Congress can show more constructive imagination than Hitler. If it doesn't, we shall have gone a long way toward proving the Marxians right in their criticism of the capitalistic system. I am suggesting the Republican Congress do its part to prove the Marxians wrong.

H. W.

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New Facts About Cancer

by Bruce Bliven

What is known about the disease, and what you can do to lessen the danger of becoming a victim

As EVERY doctor can tell you, more people worry about cancer than any other disease. Look into the waiting-room of any general practitioner and, if there are a dozen people there, you are fairly sure to find one or two who are concerned about themselves for this reason. Fortunately, in most cases the doctor is able to reassure them. Tragically, among those who do not seek medical aid, or do not seek it soon enough, there is a substantial proportion who might have been saved if they had come in time.

There is more hope today than ever before that the secret of cancer will be found. The purpose of this article is, first, to report progress in that fight and second, to suggest some of the things you can do to lessen the possibility that you will become a victim.

Nobody needs to argue about the seriousness of the cancer problem to mankind as a whole. Surgeon General Thomas J. Parran, head of the US Public Health Service, points out that, as things are going, 20 million Americans now alive will die of it. Thirty years ago it was number seven on the list of causes of death; today it is number two. But this does not necessarily mean that the cancer rate is increasing; methods of diagnosis and post-mortem reports are far more accurate than they were 30 years ago.

The fight against cancer in the research laboratories is today much better organized and better financed than ever before. Contrary to popular belief, solving the problem is not just a matter of spending enough money, although money certainly helps. There is a grave shortage of able research workers, which is now gradually being overcome.

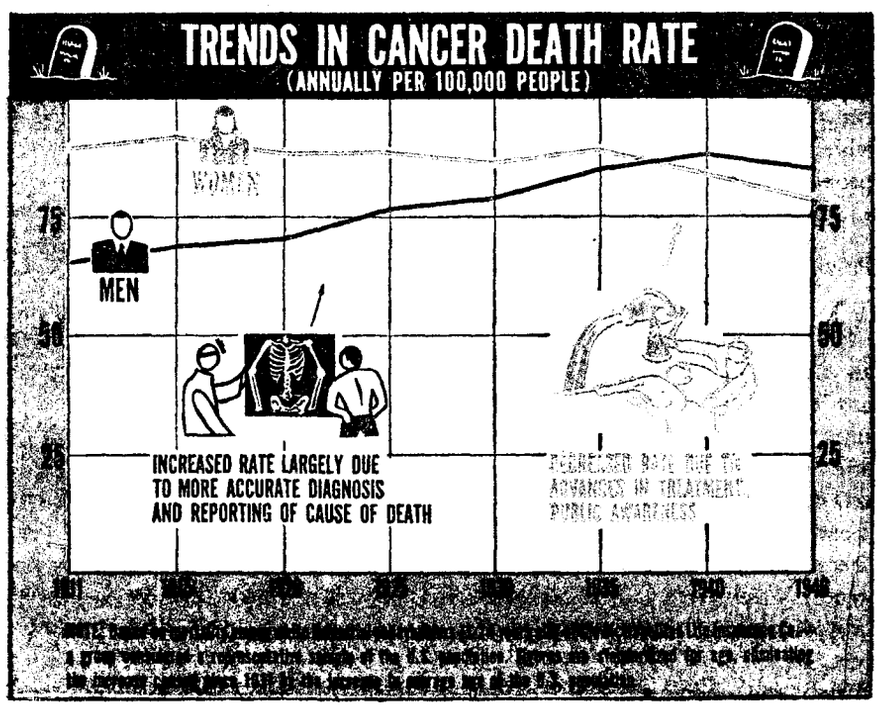
Meanwhile, as a result of the work of hundreds of devoted men and women, there is a steadily increasing amount of information about cancer. Here are some of the important points summarized:

There are many types of cancer, quite possibly arising from unrelated causes. Several substances are known which, under special circumstances, will cause malignant growths.

Some forms of cancer are curable if proper treatment is given early enough. The most useful tools are surgery, X-rays and radium.

Most of the fears of those who worry because "cancer runs in my family" are groundless. Certain types of cancer can be made hereditary in laboratory animals which are inbred for that specific purpose for many generations, but luckily the breeding habits of the human animal bear no relations to that special situation.

The majority of cancer-research experts reject as unproved the idea that cancer in man is, or is caused by, a virus. Some research workers, however, believe that certain types of cancer may be associated with the presence of a virus or one of many types of virus, which in some way, not yet known, may create conditions favorable to cancerous growth. Dr. Peyton Rous of the Rockefeller Institute suggests that there may be a normally harmless virus which be-



Bruce Bliven, Editorial Director of the New Republic, *makes a hobby of following and writing about scientific developments. He has done a book in this field,* The Men Who Make the Future, *and is a member of the National Association of Science Writers.*

This article was checked, in manuscript, by leading cancer-research authorities in New York City.

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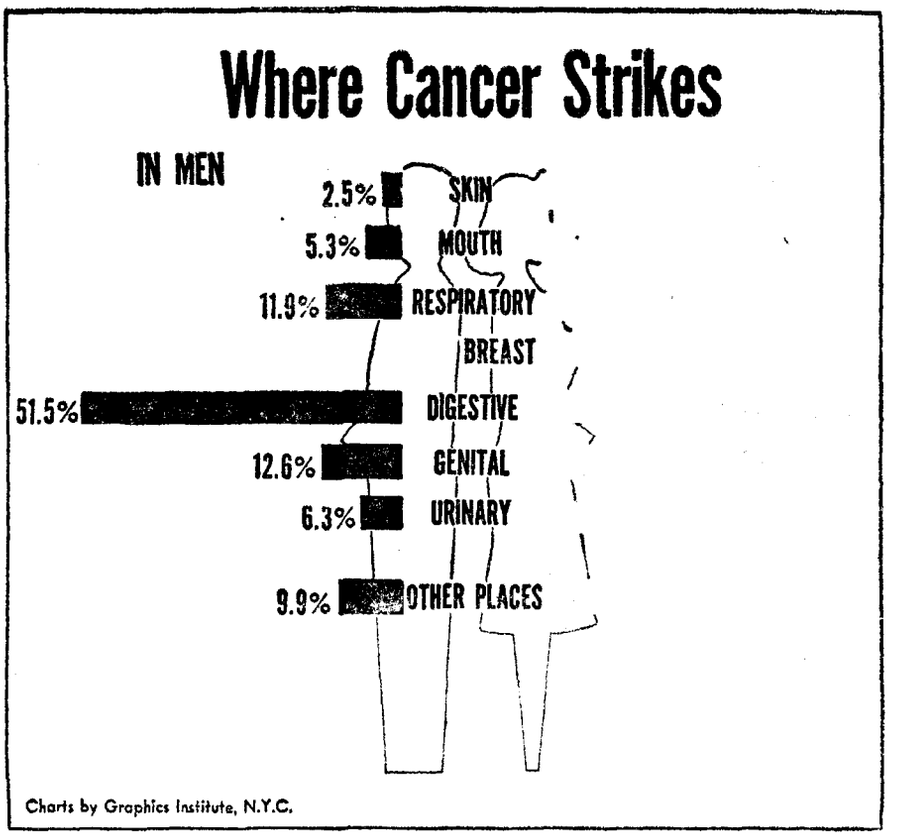
comes tumor-producing under special circumstances.

Dr. C. P. Rhoads, head of the great Memorial Hospital, center of cancer research in New York City, emphasizes the fact that cancer is a unique type of growth, not just normal growth in an abnormal quantity. Dr. Rhoads suggests that possibly cancer cells have a higher survival value than normal ones, and continue to live and flourish under unusually difficult conditions where adjacent normal cells have perished, perhaps through "starvation" or "suffocation," to put the matter in what is undoubtedly too simple layman's language.

W. D. Salmon and D. H. Copeland, of the Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station, report that a reduction of choline, which is a vitamin found in meat, egg yolk and yeast, in the diet of experimental animals, greatly increases cirrhosis of the liver, a condition frequently followed by cancer. A tendency to cancer of the lungs is also shown in these cases.

Dr. Cornelia Hoch-Ligeti, studying cancer statistics from many parts of the world at the Royal Cancer Hospital in London, found a seemingly higher degree of incidence of the disease among tribes and nations which do not habitually get an adequate diet than among those which do.

In Great Britain, as Dr. Rous recently reported, poor people seem to have more cancer of the digestive tract than the rich, who presumably have a diet more plentifully endowed with natural vitamins. When the figures are finally available, it will be interesting to see whether the semi-starvation among the people of Europe in recent years has had an effect on the cancer rate.



Possible factors

WHEN the cause or causes of cancer or various types of cancer is or are discovered, it seems possible that the answer will be found in the relationship among the genes, hormones, enzymes and vitamins. In the nucleus of every cell of living matter are microscopic elements called chromosomes. Within them, and far smaller still, are the genes, which carry all the hereditary characteristics of the organism, and determine its course of growth as its cells divide and redivide. The hormones, produced by the endocrine glands—the glands of internal secretion—interact with one another and powerfully modify the character and function of the living body. The enzymes are natural catalysts—that is, they change one substance into another without themselves being affected by the process. The vitamins, necessary elements in our food and also in some cases created within the body itself, are an essential element in a life process not yet wholly understood. Dr. Van R. Potter, of the University of Wisconsin, and others have pointed out that the cancerous cell sometimes differs as to the quantitative composition—regarding enzymes, for example—from the normal cell.

A striking theory which has recently had new attention is the hypothesis that the genes produce, at different rates of speed, partial replicas of themselves which have been called "plasmagenes." The hypothesis is that the plasmagenes, minute bits of nucleoprotein, exist in the cytoplasm, the "binding substance" of the cell, and that these plasmagenes, as well as the genes themselves, control the kind and quantity of the proteins and enzymes which are synthesized in the cell; they compete with one another for food, and if their struggle for existence gets unbalanced, cancer may result.

A good deal has been published about a reputed extract used against cancer, developed in Russia by Dr. Gregory Roskin and his wife, the former Nina Kluyeva, and named "KR," after their initials. A group of microörganisms exists called the trypanosomes, some of which produce serious diseases in man. There are unconfirmed reports that one of these microörganisms, trypanosome cruzei, has been injected into cancerous laboratory animals and some human beings, with seemingly good results; apparently the microörganisms "eat up" the morbid cells. The KR experiments are now being repeated in the United States, but a word of caution is necessary in regard to them. Many other specific remedies have been tried in the past which at first seemed promising, and have later proved disappointing.

Another type of experimentation in Soviet Russia is that performed by Dr. Gamaleia and his colleagues, Drs. Krasheninnikov and Muromtsev. They take a small piece of active cancerous tissue, put it into a bag made of organic membranous substance and, after making an incision, put it under the skin of a patient suffering from cancer. It is re-

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ported, in this case also without solid confirmation, that they have had some success, which they attribute to the fact that the transplanted bit of tumor plays the part of a vaccine, strengthening the ability of the host to fight the invasion of cancerous growth.

The "milk factor"

FOLLOWING up research by several individuals which suggested that, in laboratory animals, the mother seemed more involved in the cancer-transmission problem than the father, interesting results have been achieved by Dr. John J. Bittner, now on the faculty of the University of Minnesota Medical School. Working with mice that have been inbred for many generations for inherited susceptibility to certain types of cancer, and especially cancer of the breast, Dr. Bittner apparently found a deadly factor in the mother's milk which, in the presence of other predisposing factors, resulted in a high percentage of breast cancer in the offspring. When baby mice of the susceptible strain were suckled, even once, by the mother, a large proportion of them long afterward developed cancer; when their brothers and sisters were taken away at birth and suckled by a foster mother of a non-cancerous strain, very few of this group developed the disease. It should be carefully noted, however, that the milk factor, whatever it is, is not enough by itself to cause cancer. It must be accompanied by at least two other factors: an inherited tendency or susceptibility and a third factor not yet wholly identified, but probably hormonal or gland stimulation.

Important experimental work is being done with artificially radioactive substances produced in the cyclotron or as a by-product of making plutonium in a chain-reacting nuclear-fission pile. Several hundred substances can be made radioactive in this way and they have the same physical properties that are possessed by these substances when not radioactive. Thus, radioactive iodine, when taken into the system, goes in a heavy concentration to the thyroid and in some cases has acted beneficially on malignant growths in that area. Radioactive phosphorus concentrates in the white blood cells, and has produced temporary palliative results in leukemia. And so on.

Radioactive substances may prove a useful clew in early diagnosis of certain types of cancer. For example, if it is suspected that a woman has cancer of the breast, a radioactive substance can be injected into her bloodstream and a Geiger counter held close to her skin in that region. (The Geiger counter is a mechanism which responds to the presence of radioactivity by giving forth a series of audible clicks.) If there are rapidly proliferating cells in the area, the clicks are reported to be much more numerous than they are if the tissues of the breast are normal. Cancer is one of the conditions—though not the only one—under which rapid proliferation of cells occurs.

Another important line of investigation has to do with the relation between cancer in certain parts of the body and either normal or excessive secretions of sex hormones. Cancer of the male prostate gland is sometimes benefited by castration. It is also relieved, though not cured, by injections of a female sex hormone. Similarly, cancer of the breast in women is sometimes benefited by injections of a male sex hormone, testosterone. In experiments with laboratory animals, it has been found that a transplanted cancer did not grow unless the animal was also injected with estrogen, one of the hormones, and that the growth was slowed down or prevented if the estrogen injection was accompanied by an injection of testosterone.

Chemical therapy

OTHER encouraging developments in cancer research have also been noted. Memorial Hospital has recently published some striking news which I summarize:

There are chemical compounds which kill cancer cells, *in the test tube,* though not fatal to most normal cells tested.

A chemical compound developed during the war has a distinct, though irregular and transitory, effect in controlling cancer of the lymph glands and the blood-forming organs.

Laboratory studies suggest that cancer of the stomach in man is associated with a disordered function of the adrenal gland. This gland secretes a hormone which has also been produced synthetically and, in this form, has had a restraining effect upon one type of cancer in experimental animals.

The urine of patients with cancer contains hormone products that are not present in the urine of normal individuals or those suffering from disorders other than cancer.

Methods are at hand by which differences can be detected between normal and cancer tissue, differences regarding both the components necessary for the life functions of cells, and their structure. These differences can be utilized in techniques for killing one type of cell without killing others.

Simple precautions

WHILE we do not yet know the cause or causes of the many different kinds of human cancer, we do know of some definite cancer-causing agents. Among these are certain tars. Another cause is a long continued irritation of the tissues *combined with* other factors of which we are not yet certain. Enough is known, however, to make possible the setting down of certain definite rules which sensible people can follow to reduce the degree of risk to themselves, as follows:

Get yourself examined. Everyone, and especially those past middle life, should be examined regularly by a physician for signs of early cancer. This is in addition to, and separate from, the routine examination which everyone should have, at least once a year, of his chest, blood pressure and urine. If your doctor wishes information as to the methods of examination, he can get it free of charge if he will write to Memorial Hospital, 444 East Sixty-eighth Street, New York City; the American Cancer Society, Inc., 47 Beaver Street, New York City; the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago; or the National Cancer Institute, Bethesda, Maryland.

There are seven or eight things for which the individual himself should watch out. They are: a lump of any kind, unexplained bleeding from any orifice of the body, a sore which refuses to heal, sudden and persistent indigestion which is unexplainable on other grounds (indigestion is often psycho-

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logical in origin), changes in the size or character of a mole, unexplained, persistent hoarseness or coughing, and unexplained, persistent pain.

Keep your weight down. The *American Medical Association Journal* has reported the work of Dr. Albert Tannenbaum and others who have found that cutting down the food of laboratory animals by one-third causes a sharp reduction in the incidence of cancer and postpones its appearance. Mortality statistics of human beings give the same results: not only do fat people have more cancer, but they have more diabetes, heart disease and arthritis. (This could easily be because the disturbed psychological state which usually encourages overeating also encourages these diseases.) Diet reduction, however, has no beneficial effect on a cancer once it has been started.

Don't smoke to excess. Excessive smoking irritates the tongue and mouth and, over a prolonged period and in the presence of other special factors, of which we are still ignorant, it can lead to cancer.

Be careful about X-rays. X-rays are quite frequently used to relieve eczematous conditions of the skin. We now know, however, that each individual has a definitely limited tolerance, throughout his entire life, for X-ray or radium exposure, and that going beyond it can create a malignant lesion. If you have ever had X-ray treatments of any character, find out from your doctor the total amount you were given, and do not allow him or any other physician to give you additional treatment without carefully checking all the facts.

If you are middle-aged or beyond, be especially careful about severe or prolonged sunburn. Though it is disputed in some quarters, majority opinion now holds that very strong sunlight, plus other factors, sometimes causes cancer of the skin, and that elderly people should be especially careful. If a severe sunburn, or any other type of burn, does not heal, it should be subjected to a skin graft to avoid continued irritation.

Drink plenty of water. Some authorities believe that the danger of cancer of the bladder is increased by long continued irritation from precipitated urine crystals or calculi (minute stones), in the presence of other predisposing factors. Drinking water should serve to wash away these possible irritants.

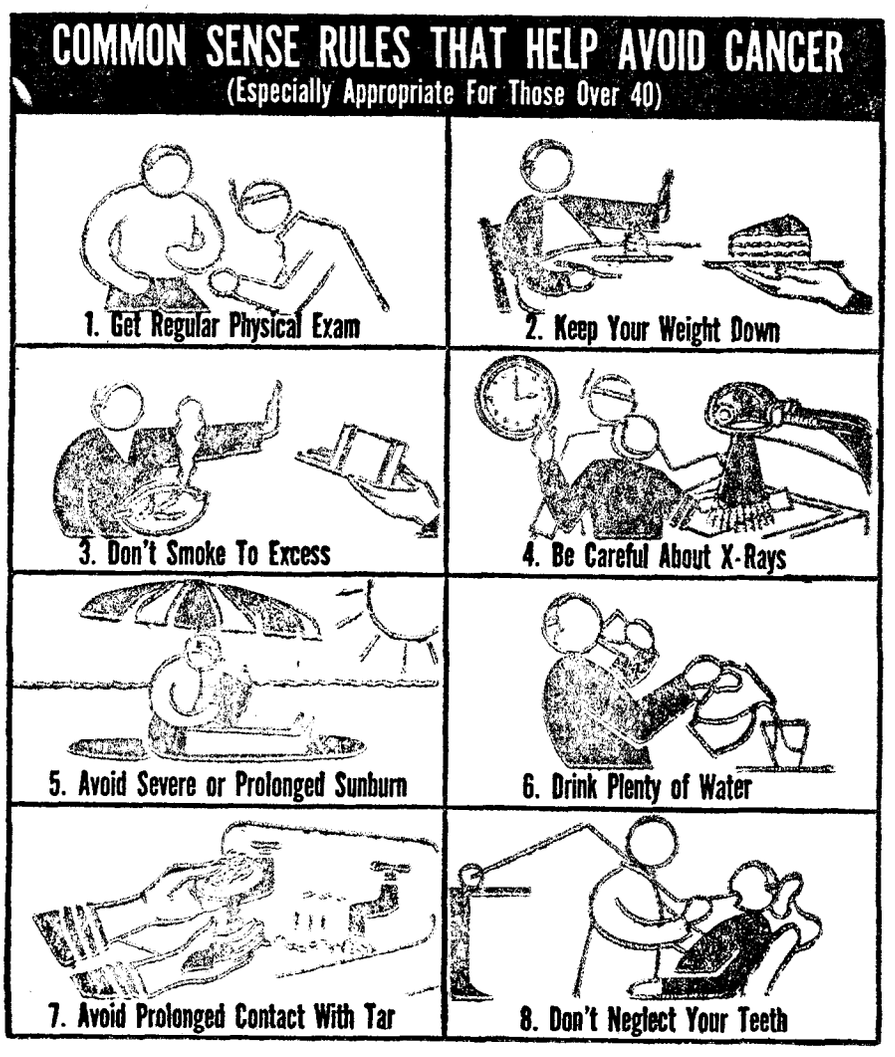
Be careful about tar. As mentioned above, some of the tars are known to be in the group of cancer-producing substances. Tar should never be allowed to remain for any period of time on the skin. Industrial activities which require workers to be exposed to tar in a dangerous degree should be prohibited by law.

Don't neglect your teeth. Pyorrhea, sharp edges on teeth and badly fitting dentures can create a chronic irritation. As in the case of excessive smoking, this irritation, in the presence of other factors, can create the danger of a malignant growth.

Try not to worry

NOTE that in most of the cases mentioned above I have said that *in the presence of other factors,* cancer may ensue. It is necessary to make this qualification, because all of us have known people who have done one or more of the things against which I have warned, without developing cancer. It seems clear that some sort of additional predisposing factor is also necessary. Since, however, no one knows what that predisposing factor is and whether it exists or is likely to develop in any given, apparently healthy individual, it would seem only elementary common sense not to take a chance.

To sum up, then—don't brood about the possibility of cancer. The chance that you will not get it is still a lot greater than the chance that you will. If you get it, many types are now readily curable if taken in time. Science is advancing in the effort to find the causes, and possible cures, at a greater speed than ever before. See your doctor at least once a year; visit him promptly between times if you develop any of the disturbing symptoms mentioned earlier; and otherwise—just go about your business and forget it.


COMMON SENSE RULES THAT HELP AVOID CANCER
(Especially Appropriate For Those Over 40)
1. Get Regular Physical Exam
2. Keep Your Weight Down
3. Don't Smoke To Excess
4. Be Careful About X-Rays
5. Avoid Severe or Prolonged Sunburn
6. Drink Plenty of Water
7. Avoid Prolonged Contact With Tar
8. Don't Neglect Your Teeth

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United Nations News

Beyond Barriers

IN ORDER to supply the entire population of Peru or Austria with toothbrushes, a manufacturer in Chicago has only to run his machines two hours overtime—or so the ego-tickling story goes. But if the government of Peru were to establish a quota system limiting the importation of American toothbrushes to 100 a year, the manufacturer might not be quite so tickled.

This—industrial advancement pitted against protective quotas—is one problem that has faced experts from 18 UN member states who, in the past few weeks, have been working on a draft charter for a proposed International Trade Organization. When they meet again in April to complete their work, and some time next year as they attempt to bring the ITO into being, they will be faced with a barrage of questions and criticisms.

All they have to do is to convince the United States that the ITO can prevent quota systems and trade barriers from operating against US manufacturers; and at the same time persuade a country like Peru that industrialization and barrier-free sales of raw materials can go hand in hand.

The ITO hopes to work within the United Nations framework, limiting monopolies and cartels and establishing equitable trade relations throughout the world. It hopes that a country such as Russia, which has not so far participated in the ITO discussions, will nevertheless be reluctant to remain outside the organization once it is established. But its big question mark will be the United States, whose conservative congressmen and Southern cotton growers form a neat little bloc of economic isolationism.

This bloc argues convincingly and, from its short-term pressure point of view, truthfully, that the ITO is harmful and dangerous. A Southern cotton grower will indeed suffer if the United States joins, since by joining we shall be committed to low tariffs. The new trade organization has a battle on its hands which it must fight on the theory that the only way to build economic security is to build it in one world.

Recognizing the desire and need for industrialization in a large segment of the world, the ITO must also recognize the problems that arise from increased industrialization. In Argentina, for instance, the expansion of factories will eventually compete directly with the wool-textile industry in England. Economic internationalism alone can face this problem and solve it. England, in this case, would have to shift the emphasis from wool textiles to, say, linen textiles, for self-preservation. Whether or not this kind of foresighted changeover can take place only within the framework of a planned national, as well as international, economy is something the ITO won't attempt to decide—and it's something that gives conservative capitalists the jitters.

But this is a long-range problem and the ITO will have plenty of immediate worries when it comes into existence. Like the other specialized agencies attached to the UN and operating in social or economic fields, its work will wind in and around organizations dealing with food, labor, finance and law. Its duties cannot be too rigidly defined and, what is worse, its regulations cannot be too rigidly enforced.

Just about the only thing it can do is to make favored-nations treatment and tariff reductions so attractive that no nation can afford to stay out. Once in, a nation can be penalized or expelled for violations, and a generally recalcitrant nation—such as Spain—can be punished by being excluded.

THE Security Council was squarely in the middle of an international brawl last week and all because its Balkan investigating commission, which had been observing Greece, suddenly went into action. On the theory that men are apt to know more alive than dead, the commission requested the Greek government to stay the execution of 11 prisoners. The Greek government cried that this was unwarranted interference with its internal affairs and the council itself ruled that, in the future, such postponements should not be requested unless the prisoners are thought to have useful information.

From the very beginning of the controversy, Secretary-General Trygve Lie had played a prominent role by informing the Greek government that he was upholding the action of the commission until the Security Council could rule on it. This was not the first time the Secretary-General had come out strongly on a political issue. It first happened a year ago when the Security Council was deadlocked over what to do with the Iranian case. At that time Lie recommended that the case be removed from the agenda. Last fall when the dispute on Greece's Balkan policy was dropped by the Council, Lie emphatically reserved the right to investigate and report on the matter if he so chose. A month later, in his report to the General Assembly, he gratuitously offered his opinion of Franco Spain: "It is an unhappy fact that the fascist control of Spain has continued unchanged despite the defeat of Germany and Japan." And last month, when the council was doubtful about its powers over Trieste, Lie again took an unequivocal stand—the Security Council has "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security," he quoted from the Charter.

These have been the borderline cases where a man can speak or hold his peace. Whatever personal harm might derive from Lie's strong statements, he has raised the post of the Secretary-General to a level somewhat higher than administrative bureaucracy.

PARIS is a great and wonderful city which has everything and nothing to do with mines exploding under British ships in the Corfu channel. At least that was the general impression created by Hysmi Kapo, Albanian, delegated to plead his country's innocence before the Security Council. Last week and the week before and the week before that, Kapo, who had apparently boarded the train from Belgrade, seemed to be lost on the Left Bank. The United Nations organization, waiting patiently, was relieved to learn that he was planning to arrive at Lake Success on the next flight for New York.

JANE BEDELL

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Education

Why Teachers Strike

THE slightest familiarity with the conditions under which United States teachers work effectively destroys all illusions concerning the dignity of the profession. Before rising costs evaporated teachers' salaries, teaching was a fairly pleasant, full-time job. Today most teachers are forced to hold down part-time jobs in order to supplement their income. In New York City, 10,000 teachers are tending bar, working on railroads, selling books and repairing radios in their spare time.

Compared to the weekly earnings of auto workers ($53), coal miners ($55), meat packers ($41), most of the country's teachers find themselves living on submarginal incomes. Average weekly income for all teachers and principals is $37. Twenty percent make less than $24 a week; four percent make less than $12.

The situation has reached a point where the University of Connecticut's Dean Sumner Dole tells his staff "they'll never have any money unless they marry it or steal it." Murray State Teachers' College, in Kentucky, apologetically reassures future teachers that teaching "is a good depression profession."

THE rising tide of teachers' strikes approached flood proportions this week. In New York State, the Buffalo Teachers' Federation voted to walk out of class on February 24 if its demands for a pay rise went unheeded. Although the Buffalo educators' demands actually concerned only their city government, Governor Thomas E. Dewey and his Republican-controlled legislature stand squarely in the middle of this controversy.

Last month, under the most violent pressure yet exerted by New York's underpaid and overworked teachers, Dewey was forced to loosen his tight clutch on the state's $500 million surplus and OK a temporary weekly increase of $5.75. This, teachers hotly protested, was an insult to both their demands and their needs. New York City's teaching staff, the best paid in the United States (average salary: $70 a week), insisted on a flat, permanent increase of $1,050; Buffalo wanted raises of from $500 to $1,000; other cities demanded similar boosts. Dewey stood firm: $300 was all they were going to get. With both brown eyes firmly fixed on the 1948 presidential elections, Dewey was in no mood to be trifled with. A big state surplus was always a better talking point than contented teachers.

Although teachers, by tradition, do not strike, New York's teachers do not have to look far to find sufficient precedent. Within the last five months, 15 educational walkouts have erupted in 10 widely separated states. The largest took place in St. Paul, Minnesota, where 1,160 teachers abandoned 30,000 delighted school children. Norwalk, Connecticut, teachers kept schools closed for nine days until their demands were met. In Shamokin, Pennsylvania, CIO-led teachers struck for six weeks until they received an annual increase of $300 and better lunch hours.

These unprecedented walkouts by people who are usually considered "above that sort of thing" have been completely successful. Thus far, every single teachers' strike has won substantial concessions from the local or state government involved. The mere threat of a strike in other communities (Chicago, Boston) has usually been enough to gain more money for the militant educators.

TEACHERS' strikes differ radically from industrial disputes, since teachers must strike against their city and state governments. And the money the teachers want is drained directly from the pockets of the taxpayer. In the past, this has led to much public disapproval of any militant action by the teachers.

Another barrier which lies in the path of the educational picket line has come from the teaching profession itself. The National Education Association, largest and most conservative educational organization in the States, enrolling 775,000 teachers, cipals, superintendents and supervis has led the opposition to strikes. usually concerns itself only with professional and ethical educational problems. The American Federation of Teachers (AFL), with a membership of 40,000, has a constitutional provision prohibiting strikes. The Teachers' Union (CIO), with 20,000 members, takes no stand on the issue.

In the face of rising costs, shrinking bank balances and substandard income, opposition to the no-strike policy has vanished. The NEA, under fire from its hard-pressed membership, took a leaf from John L. Lewis' union book and recently declared: "No contract, no work." The AFT looked the other way when its St. Paul local trooped out of the schoolhouses. In fact, other AFT locals, seeing in the St. Paul strike a portent of things to come, raised substantial sums of money to support their union brothers and sisters on the picket line. The Shamokin strike initiated the CIO in this business.

LACK of money is not the only thing worrying teachers. Poor working conditions have depleted the profession. This, in turn, has doubled the work load of those who remain. Despite high-pressure campaigns to recruit new teachers, and the issuing of 100,000 emergency teaching permits to people who ordinarily would not be allowed to step into a classroom, there has been a net decrease of 400,000 public-school teachers since 1942. The quality of the educational product has, of necessity, declined to a point where one Southern newspaper, advertising for a teacher, plainly stated: "Knowledge of common branches desired but not required."

Because of poor pay, overwork and lowering of educational standards, teacher morale has reached its lowest point in history. At the present time teachers are channeling their frustrations and exasperations into a feverish demand for higher pay—which they desperately need. If they receive no concessions and no relief, the coming strikes will make those already concluded look like a kindergarten play period.

MYRON EMANUEL

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Farm

The REA Fight

LETTERS of protest have been pouring in to Senators and Representatives ever since John Taber of New York, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, made the statement that the Rural Electrification Administration was getting three or four times as much money as it needs.

Farmers throughout the country are aroused about Taber's threat to the electrification program. Since the REA was established, the percentage of electrified farms has risen from 10 to 52 percent. But three million farms are without electricity and many have been hoping for years that the time would eventually arrive when they could electrify their houses and barns.

Farmers are afraid that dirty work may be going on at the present time. They know of the unholy alliance that exists between reactionary congressmen and the power trust and they remember how the whole program was threatened and partly destroyed last spring. They remember the time when Speaker Rayburn of the House laid down his gavel and went down onto the floor and joined the fight to save the program to build flood-control dams from which power would be generated to be sold to REA coöperatives.

The Department of Interior had requested $23 million for dams in Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana. These dams would have supplied electricity for 11 million farm people, 70 percent of whom still don't have electricity. Rayburn and others finally succeeded in restoring $7.5 million of the appropriation. This year the President reduced his request to a tenth of what he asked for last year for that area. The farmers are not especially happy about this, since power-company officials have recently boasted that they have the REA going their way now. Altogether, last spring the House slashed $77 million from 39 Department of Interior power projects in 17 states, "killing" 30 outright. The power trust put on its biggest drive and it got results.

However, farmers in the REA coöperatives won a partial victory. A sum of two hundred and fifty million was authorized for July, 1946, to June, 1947. It should be emphasized that none of this money is given away. Not only does the REA get it back, but it makes a profit on it. It lends money to REA coöps at two percent to be repaid within 35 years. At the present time, payments are running $20 million ahead of schedule. The amount that has come due totals $100 million, but the coöps have repaid about $120 million.

THE electric-power industry has fought the farm-electrification program ever since it was initiated by President Roosevelt in 1935. The position that the power trust has always taken in regard to rural electrification is that all the farmers that need or want this service have it. Grover C. Neff, president of the Edison Electric Institute, said in 1935 that there were very few farms needing electricity. In 1936, 1938 and again last year when the utility lobbyists swarmed to Washington, Neff made a similar statement. Another who has been active as a lobbyist is Ham Moses, president of Arkansas Power and Light. Last March Drew Pearson reported that he had been offering nylon hose to wives of congressmen.

The men working against the farmers are in the pay of Eastern capital. Eighty-five percent of the Southwestern Gas and Electric Company is controlled by the Middle West Corporation of Chicago. This company is in turn controlled by the First National Bank of Chicago, and the Bankers' Trust Company of New York. The Texas Light and Power Company is controlled by the Texas Utilities Company, which in turn is controlled by the American Power and Light Company. The American Power and Light Company is controlled by the Electric Bond and Share Company. Electric Bond and Share is controlled by the J. P. Morgan banks.

The power trust is especially opposed to the government loaning money to the REA to build power plants. The threat of farmers or the government building generative plants is the only way in which rates will be kept down and is the reason they've been lowered in the past. The government power plant or the farmer-owned plant provides a "yardstick" to indicate which is a fair rate.

At the present time the power companies are outdoing themselves in lowering their wholesale rates. Claude Wickard, head of the REA, told me last week the Texas Light and Power Company is now offering electricity to coöperatives at one-half of a cent a kilowatt. In 1941 it charged more than three times this amount. As Wickard said, either this company was charging too much in 1941 or it is not charging enough now.

What big capital wants, of course, is to prevent real competition in electrification and build lines only in areas where farmers are living relatively close together, leaving those in sparsely settled areas "in the dark," thus making it economically impossible for the REA to help the remaining farmers set up a self-liquidating project.

WHEN a coöperative is organized, farmers first hire an engineer, who makes a survey to determine if electrification is feasible and where the lines should be run. If the engineer gives a favorable report, they apply to the REA for a loan and authority to go ahead. As soon as the electrical job is complete the farmers pay bills just like anyone else and the money is used to retire the loan.

It is well known that electricity enables a farmer to operate his farm more efficiently. Farmers use electric power for yard lights, building lights, milking machines, electric fences, pig brooders, chick brooders, feed grinders, water systems and scores of other electric devices. Sheep are sheared with electric clippers. Water warmers prevent freezing in stock water tanks in winter.

A survey in 1944 of Montana farms that had been served by REA coöps for several years showed that nine out of 10 had radios, four out of five had washing machines and three out of four

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had electric refrigerators. Electricity has been a strong factor in building community enterprises and rural industries. One small town, for instance, converted an abandoned cheese factory into a community canning center.

Electricity not only gives the farmer comfort and pleasure but pays him in dollars and cents. Joseph Motz of Warren, Ohio, invested several hundred dollars in electrical equipment. His water pump saved him 175 hours of labor; his tool grinder, 132 hours; his electric washer, 144. He increased his dairy herd from 16 to 30 head, his milk production rose 14,404 pounds and his profit jumped from 36 to 57 cents for every hour of labor. When he installs a milker he will further cut his costs, since 43.8 percent of his labor time is spent in the dairy.

THE answer to Representative Taber's charges is that although there is a backlog of unspent REA money because of delay in getting materials, getting bids on projects, etc., such money has been allocated and must be set aside when a project is okayed. Wickard told me that he had on hand applications from REA coöps for projects amounting to $207 million, with only $100 million left to be disbursed, and that more applications were coming in every day.

The farmers of America want electricity and they want to pay for it. And Congress should set aside an additional allocation of at least $250 million. The money is safe and it is a good investment. No one objected to banks and other groups getting RFC money, and it seems to me that none of the arguments against the REA has a leg to stand on. There is a great fuss made by the utilities against any of the money going for "generative purposes." But the record shows that only 10 percent of all the money that the REA has ever loaned to farmers has been used for this purpose, and then only when there was no power available at reasonable cost.

Nobody knows what Congress will do this year to the appropriation for the REA. You can be sure of one thing though. Any Senator or Representative who votes against the REA will lose the farm vote. ANGUS MCDONALD

Books

Lowry's Inferno

THE BOOK: *Under the Volcano* (Reynal and Hitchcock, $3).

THE AUTHOR: Malcolm Lowry, a native of England, in his late thirties, who has traveled extensively and lives at present in British Columbia.

THE TIME: The Day of the Dead, November, 1938, and the same day one year later.

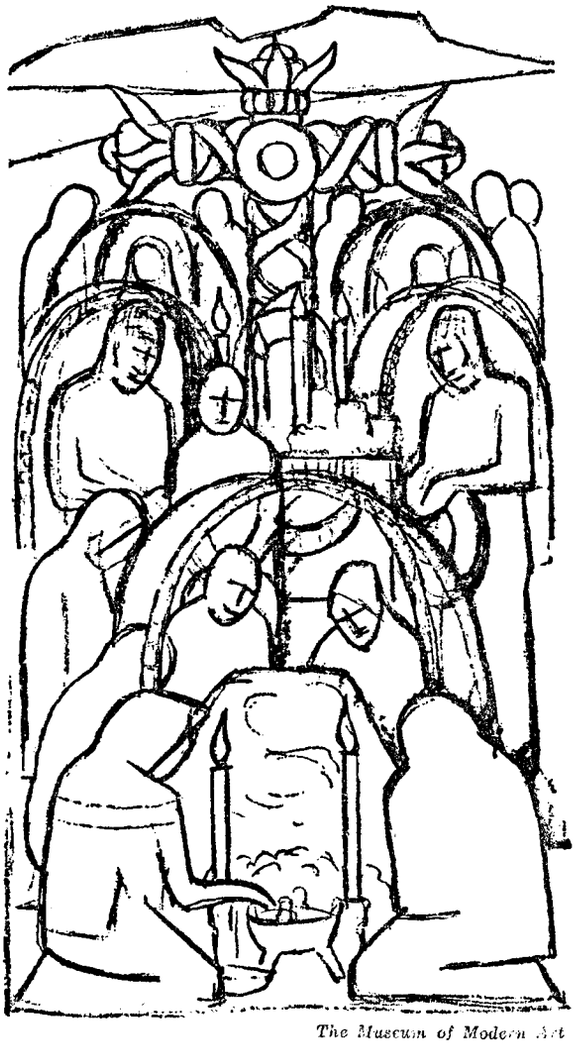
THE PLACE: "Quauhnahuac," Mexico. Quauhnahuac combines obvious features of the real cities of Cuernavaca and Oaxaca. It is dominated by the two volcanoes, Popocatepetl and Ixtaccihuatl.

DRAMATIS PERSONAE: Geoffrey Firmin, an alcoholic British ex-consul. Hugh, his younger half-brother, a journalist of ardent left-wing sympathies. Yvonne, Geoffrey's divorced wife, who has had affairs with Hugh and with Jacques Laruelle, a cynical French movie producer who had been a boyhood friend of the Firmins.

THE ARGUMENT: After an introductory chapter which concerns Laruelle's reflections on the action of the rest of the book, the scene shifts to the morning a year earlier when Yvonne, after a long absence, returns to find Geoffrey in the midst of a prolonged spell of drinking. In the course of the day Geoffrey, Hugh and Yvonne visit Laruelle's house, where the memory of the latter's affair with Yvonne is evoked. Then the three go to a neighboring town where the festivities of the holiday are being celebrated. In the course of their journey they meet a badly injured peon lying in the road. Hugh wishes to intervene, but the Consul prudently objects.

At the festival, to the anger of Geoffrey, Hugh takes part in the bull-throwing. In the excitement of the moment Yvonne pleads with the Consul to come away with her and make a fresh start, but the Consul is noncommital and starts his uncontrollable drinking again. Later he becomes separated from Hugh and Yvonne, after a fierce quarrel in which he denounces them for cuckolding him. Searching for Geoffrey, Hugh and Yvonne lose themselves in the jungle where she is trampled to death by the horse of the injured peon whom Hugh had tried to help. In the meantime the Consul, still striving for self-destruction, succeeds in getting himself murdered.

COMMENT: On one level this is prob-



The Museum of Modern Art

DIEGO RIVERA'S DAY OF THE DEAD

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ably as brilliant a book on modern Mexico, her people, institutions and landscape, as has ever been written for a foreigner. On another level it is a powerful study of a diseased personality. But *Under the Volcano* should be judged ultimately as a work of art and as a commentary on the human condition. Its acceptance will depend upon the reader's willingness to accede to the demands of Lowry's dramatic structure, the extravagances of his prose and his tragic perception of life.

The novel is a series of set pieces interlaced with reflections by the characters and the author rather than an orderly procession of dramatic inventions. Those accustomed to the matter-of-factness of realism or the neatness of symbolism may flounder for a while in Lowry's abrupt shifts of time, space and mood. And in contrast to realism's reportorial style and symbolism's abstract neatness, the prose of *Under the Volcano* is limitless in range, in feeling —and in taste. Lowry's mimicry—of pidgin English, of cablese, of Hollywood press-agentry, for example—is as good as the early Sinclair Lewis; his reflective manner is worthy of the weight and dignity of his thought; but he is capable of the banality and pseudo-poetry of which one of his masters, Joyce, was never free.

THE meaning of *Under the Volcano* —if in so complicated a structure sense can be distinguished from form— again is multiple. Broadly speaking, it is a social novel—the Consul's sickness cannot be separated from the sickness of the world that killed him: "The world itself was bursting, bursting into black spouts of villages catapulted into space, with himself falling through it all, through the inconceivable pandemonium of a million tanks, through the blazing of ten million burning bodies, falling, into a forest, falling. . . ." More explicitly, it is a political novel: although the Consul ridicules Hugh's concern for the Spanish Republic, he himself is killed by sadistic Mexican fascists.

But what lifts *Under the Volcano* from the ruck of most contemporary fiction is its view of life as expressed in the Consul's inability to extricate himself from disaster: "And this is how I sometimes think of myself, as a great explorer who has discovered some extraordinary land from which he can never return to give his knowledge to the world: but the name of this land is hell.

"It is not Mexico of course but in the heart." GEORGE MAYBERRY

Only Yesterday

AT THE time of Germany's "peaceful" occupation of Austria, in March, 1938, Field Marshal Goering had a 40-minute telephone conversation with Ambassador Ribbentrop in London. The record of that conversation, Peter de Mendelssohn says in *Design for Aggression* (Harper's, $3.50), "is possibly the most extraordinary among the many extraordinary documents issued at Nuremberg." Indeed, it is unique. The thousands of other documents presented as evidence at the trial of Germany's major war criminals were never intended for public disclosure. The Goering-Ribbentrop conversation, on the other hand, was made to be overheard in London on the assumption that all diplomatic calls were tapped by the British. Its purpose was to lay down a smoke screen for world opinion about the events then taking place in Austria.

But other documents show that all the official talk of the "union of two brother nations" was so much eyewash. In planning the *Anschluss*, Germany's rulers never thought of it as anything but a straightforward military campaign. When Czechoslovakia's final liquidation had been decided on, General Keitel, in a letter of December 17, 1938, instructed the supreme commands of the three services that "to the outside world too it must clearly appear that it is merely an action of pacification and not a war-like undertaking." These, like many other cases, show that the Nazis' public utterances stand in glaring contradiction to what we now know, from captured enemy documents, they were saying and planning behind their closed doors.

But Mendelssohn does not want to prove that the Germans deliberately started the war or that they were liars. That has been proved over and over again. Rather, he wants to show how each phase of the over-all plan develops from the preceding phase and leads to the next stage. He has made excellent use of the documents that were available to him, including military directives, Hitler's briefings, diaries, secret reports and transcripts of telephone conversations. The book is chiefly a logical presentation of selections from these documents, connected by the author's lucid comments.

Hitler emerges as the key figure. "Neither a military nor a civilian person can replace me," he said in one of his briefing sessions. "Assassination attempts on me may be repeated. I am convinced of the power of my intellect and decision." His megalomania was disliked by the generals. When advised that Germany's western fortifications could only be held for three weeks, "the Führer becomes very indignant and flares up," faithful General Jodl notes in his diary. The reason for the military view is, according to Jodl, that "the vigor of the soul is lacking, because at bottom they do not believe in the genius of the Führer." The transcripts of his briefings suggest why the generals of the older school must have hated Hitler, while the younger officers were fascinated by his undoubted military gifts.

HITLER'S distrust of his top commanders was deep. Long after Operation Sea Lion—the invasion of Britain—had been given up, he told Admiral Raeder that preparations for Operation Barbarossa—the invasion of Russia—were mere camouflage for Sea Lion, dear to the Admiral's heart. The generals were in a quandary. General Blomberg, in a 1937 directive, states explicitly in the beginning that "the situation justifies the assumption that Germany need not consider an attack from any side," but ends the directive with talk about "the imminent attack of a superior enemy coalition." It seems that under Hitler's influence the military planners must lie even to themselves in order to have a clear conscience.

One of Hitler's outstanding characteristics, Mendelssohn comments, is "that he invariably judges others, and particularly his actual or potential opponents, by his own standards." He assumes, for instance, that Britain would not hesitate to give him something that does not belong to her, like Portuguese

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Brotherhood Week

The week of February 16-23 has been designated as Brotherhood Week by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. This is a list of books which the Conference suggests to promote inter-faith and interracial understanding:

FOR ADULTS: *The Glass House of Prejudice* by Dorothy Baruch; *The Miracle of the Bells* by Russell Janney; *The House of God* by Desider Holisher; *A Negro's Faith in America* by Spencer Logan; *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease,* edited by Ernst Simmel; *Action for Unity* by Goodwin Watson; *Minority Problems in the Public Schools* by Theodore Brameld; *Color and Conscience* by Buell G. Gallagher; *A Star Pointed North* by Edmund Fuller; *Controlling Group Prejudice,* edited by Gordon W. Allport; *Our Own Kind* by Edward McSorley; *Anatomy of Racial Intolerance,* edited by George B. de Huzzar; *Civilization and Group Relationships,* edited by Robert M. MacIver; *The Religions of Democracy* by Louis Finkelstein, J. Elliott Ross and William Adams Brown; *Probing Our Prejudices* by Hortense Powdermaker; *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* by Gunnar Myrdal; *One Nation* by Wallace Stegner and the editors of *Look; The Springfield Plan* by Alexander Alland and James Waterman Wise; *Color Blind* by Margaret Halsey.

FOR CHILDREN: *Tiger at City High* by Joseph Gollomb; *Tradition* by Anne Emery; *Willow Hill* by Phyllis Whitney; *One God—The Ways We Worship Him* by Florence Mary Fitch.

Angola. At the time of his planning the Czech campaign, he credits France with extraordinary aggressiveness and initiative.

With the Polish campaign, Hitler knew, the bluffing would be over. "We cannot expect a repetition of the Czech affair," he said on May 23, 1939. "This time there will be war." Hitler was determined to have war. "I am only afraid," he said on August 22, 1939, "that at the last moment some *schweinehund* will make a proposal for mediation."

The "dirty swine" in this case was Mussolini. His difference with Hitler was not over principles and policies, but over the question of timing. The lack of sincerity, confidence and frankness between the two partners was so great that the true nature of Hitler's intentions was kept secret from the Duce, whom Hitler nevertheless considered "the man with the strongest nerves in Italy."

THERE is much new incidental information in Mendelssohn's book. Russia made claims to the Dardanelles and Kars and Ardahan as early as November, 1940, long before the 1945 Moscow conference. Admiral Horthy's conspiracy in the Czech affair is shown in a telegram he sent to Hitler on March 13, 1939. In none of his briefing conferences does Hitler refer to the Jews, Mendelssohn notes, "obviously because he knows and his associates know that at bottom there is no substance to the story and that the Jews, although a useful scapegoat, are not a 'military reality'." Goering's personality appears in a nutshell from his own statements: "If necessary, I am going to convert the economy with *brutal* methods in order to achieve this aim. . . . I am going to make *barbaric* use of the plenipotentiary powers given to me by the Führer." (Italics mine.—H. E.)

When the end was in sight, General Jodl summed up the reasons for Germany's defeat: "The impossibility of a landing in Britain; the failure to bring the war against the Soviet Union to a victorious conclusion during the first winter; the failure to draw Spain into the war at some time during the first two years of fighting."

HEINZ EULAU

Lincoln and FDR

LINCOLN figures preëminently in our history as a President endowed with vision and high moral purpose. Comparisons between him and the great leader of our times, Roosevelt, distinguish the latter's greatness as being of a political rather than a moral order: FDR is spoken of as the greatest politician in our history. And yet it is known to every Lincoln student and is shown brilliantly in Burton J. Hendrick's *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (Little, Brown, $5), that Lincoln, too, was a masterly politician. Both men's greatness lay in their talent for striking that proper balance between vision and practicality which is the supreme test of statesmanship.

It is valuable at a time when issues as momentous as slavery are having a comparable impact on party structures to remind ourselves of the politician in Lincoln. Nowhere were his political talents more in evidence than in the composition of his cabinet and his dealings with it. He built his cabinet as a coalition that was representative of all the elements forming the new Republican Party—old-line Democrats, Whigs, machine politicians, extreme anti-slavery men. This was necessary if his government was to have sufficient authority to deal with the Civil War crisis. But a representative cabinet involved collecting under his wing nearly all the disappointed men whom he had defeated in the convention, all of whom regarded themselves as his superiors. Although Lincoln was convinced of his ability to control, direct and retain authority in his own hands, few other people were, and one has to go to a companion book—Beveridge's study of Lincoln's development as a politician—to understand his success with the cabinet. There is no doubt that his long political experience in Illinois, the skill he had developed walking the tightrope between the disintegrating Whigs and the new anti-slavery parties, equipped him with the qualities needed for his difficult task.

The story of Lincoln's war cabinet is a fascinating and instructive one in the history of the American presidency, and it is portrayed here by Professor

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Hendricks with detailed vividness. Successively, Lincoln mastered attempts to take authority away from him. The first one was by Seward, his Secretary of State, who wanted to recreate the Whig Party through an all-Whig cabinet and envisioned himself as prime minister, with Lincoln as a figurehead. Unimpressed by Seward's failure to run Lincoln, Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, in alliance with the radicals, sought to make himself master of the Administration. Chase's failure within the cabinet was followed by an abortive effort by radical Republicans in the Senate to usurp the executive powers. Intrigues by politically minded generals were another challenge to Lincoln's authority, as were the efforts of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, formed by congressional radicals to harass the conservative elements in his administration.

LINCOLN'S political genius was evidenced not only in his defeat of all these maneuvers to weaken his legitimate authority but in his ability to retain within his cabinet and use for his own purposes—despite their intrigues—all the forces necessary to the success of the Union cause. Whatever his misgivings about the tactics of the Jacobins, Lincoln considered their support as essential to the success of his policy. He regarded them as facing Zionwards and would not be provoked into splitting with them. At the same time he never allowed them to narrow the basis of the support he regarded as essential to the victory of Union arms. He needed Chase and Stanton, but he also needed Seward. It was an unruly team and reached its goal only because Lincoln remained firmly in control.

Lincoln's War Cabinet illustrates again that political leadership is not primarily a matter of proclaiming correct programs but of placing first things first, defining a central purpose, and then, with proper timing, persistance and skill, assembling and holding together the political forces necessary to achieve that purpose.

Our country has been fortunate in having leaders in its two mortal crises in whom the elements of vision and politics were so supremely merged. Shall we find a comparable politician and man of vision for the new crisis that is still to be faced?

JOSEPH P. LASH

Special Pleader

THE STRANGE ALLIANCE (Viking, $3.75) is an interesting title for a book which purports to evaluate objectively our wartime coöperation with Russia. The author, Major General John R. Deane, was head of the US Military Mission in Moscow from 1943 to 1945 and his account of that period makes exciting reading, although his style is snide. For instance, Deane criticizes the fact that he was constantly chaperoned during discussions, except those with the NKVD and those with the foreign-trade group whose business it was "to extract additional resources from the United States, which seemed to be progressing nicely, thank you, and apparently did not require special watching." He favored lend-lease aid, but felt that the Russians requested postwar equipment more and more frequently as the war progressed. He admits that the shuttle-bombing system must have destroyed Germany's last hope of splitting the Allies and that collaboration during the war was maintained—though with difficulty. His thesis is that the Russians wanted to fight and end the war without assuming the "divided responsibilities and mutual obligations which the British and Americans were prepared to accept with regard to each other."

Deane leaves you with the definite impression that the Russians were obstructionists. Their obstructionist tendencies might be partially explained by Deane's own political views. Of Churchill's opinion that political strategy dictated an invasion of the Balkans rather than an invasion of Western Europe, Deane says, "It will always be debatable whether Churchill might not have been right even though the action he proposed put an additional burden on our resources and probably would have prolonged the war." Obstructionists often base their actions on a valid mistrust of their colleagues' motives.

J. B.

A Reader's List

Planning No. 259. Britain's Need for Brainpower (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents).* The lack of adequately trained professional people handicapped Britain during the war, says PEP, and it can now become a serious barrier to postwar reconstruction. An effective labor force must have well selected, carefully trained scientists, teachers, engineers and accountants, for without brain power deterioration of skills soon sets in. The editors urge that as many as 5,000 scientists a year be produced by the universities and colleges to meet this imperative need. PEP is quite aware that many businessmen prefer the Horatio Alger technique. That, however, does not always provide trained leadership. Obtaining brainpower, the editors show, requires an enlightened recruitment system, financial aid for the capable, elimination of special professional fees, and, above all, sufficient remuneration.

Planning No. 260. Men, Management and Machines (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents).* Although this broadsheet adds nothing new on the problem of industrial productivity, it does effectively summarize all the known facts. Only through an increased flow of goods, the editors say, can Britain increase her living standards above the 1939 level, expand her social-service program, rebuild factories used up by six years of war and regain her ancient prominence in world trade. PEP realizes that these are difficult goals to attain. Present facts show that productivity in coal, cotton, iron and steel are below prewar standards. With a shifting labor force, unrepaired plants and a loss of peacetime skills, British industry must inevitably lag behind that of the United States. Yet these handicaps can be overcome, the pamphlet states, by developing acceptable incentives for workers and by a greater measure of labor-management coöperation. Great Britain's basic requirement, however, is increased capital investment to replace her antiquated industrial machine.

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Movies

Cocktails, Cads, Curves

"SMASH-UP" is a slightly less frightening, slightly more tearful, dissertation on the theme of "The Lost Weekend." It is, you might say, "The Lost Weekend" with schmaltz, but very good schmaltz and dished up by the best people. Walter Wanger and Martin Gable have made the picture from a Dorcthy Parker story, and it might have been a great piece of work if they hadn't tried to reach every kind of audience all the time. Even so, it succeeds in presenting, often in a very moving way, a problem still considered daring in the movies. Dipsomania is an issue that touches the lives of more people today than the problems, say, of homicidal mania, or white slavery, or conquering the wasteland. "Smash-Up" shows some of the symptoms and some of the results of the prevalent disease called drinking too much, and it will make you hesitate before taking a third martini and watch more carefully not to set the family afire with a lighted cigarette, at least for a while.

The problem drinker in this case is a night-club singer, a young girl who is scared of people and needs a double drink just before she goes on stage. Later, after she retires, she feels left out of her husband's life, has too little to do, and in general finds herself inadequate. Rye gives her courage and some of the poise she so badly lacks, and in a kind of piteous desperation she drinks herself to the edge of ruin before her husband realizes the emptiness of the life he has unwittingly imposed on her.

Susan Hayward does a skillful job of the lonely wife, and Lee Bowman plays her husband, a famous radio singer who works hard, means no harm, loves his wife and tries to give her everything she could want. The friend of the family —a common movie character—is rarely portrayed so sympathetically as here by Eddie Albert. He plays the piano, chews gum and is affectionate and dependable. Marsha Hunt, a fine actress who has given validity to every role I've seen her do, is the suave, efficient menace who turns out to have a heart, too. The part is not always credible, but Marsha Hunt does well by it, and incidentally takes one of the worst beatings I've ever seen—it's a fight in which little could have been faked.

THERE is nothing which the cad in "The Affairs of Bel Ami" (George Sanders) won't stoop to do to the dozen women who are mad for him. This wily character couldn't be more successful at betraying for money or position, or be more tiresome in the process. He dies holding an umbrella over his head in a duel fought, very slowly, in the rain. This typical scene may sound amusing, but it isn't.

The picture is adapted from a de Maupassant short story by Albert Lewin, who also directed. The plot is worked out by twenty-two people with speaking parts, not counting the extras. I'm sure the director's intentions were both good and ambitious, but he muffed it. "The Affairs of Bel Ami" has too little merit to be worth sitting through, unless your cousin is in it. And that, considering the crowd, is very possible.

"SAN QUENTIN" is a starring vehicle for Lawrence Tierney, a fairly new tough guy who played Dillinger in the film about that desperado. He's good—one of the most promising of the stone-face-heart-of-gold school. Sometimes he moves his eyes, though not so often as to spoil the effect, and then there is both purpose and intelligence in them. He has a nice strong face and otherwise is built like a block of Brooklyn granite.

The idea of "San Quentin" centers upon the experimental Inmates' Welfare League, a prison organization that makes the prisoners largely self-governing. This must be based on fact (ex-Warden Lawes of Sing Sing makes an introductory talk on treating convicts like human beings and, in the movie, the warden of San Quentin explains that a man in jail must be given some hope for the future).

When the picture starts, the whole system seems to be working fine, with the older convicts breaking in the recent arrivals, punishing offenders by removing their privileges and by practically scaring them to death. However, there is an ugly brute, played by Barton McLane, who for some time has resisted the welfare boys but is now their star pupil, or so the innocent thugs believe. No one seems to realize that all the time he is sharpening spoons and plotting revenge.

One day the warden—whose faith in his charges seems boundless—takes the hero, Tierney (who started the League), the unreformed villain and a new boy just learning the ropes, to lecture to a group of newspapermen who are dubious about the success of the League. In one car, with a guard driving, with no handcuffs and no escort, they start merrily off. As you would expect, it doesn't take long for the shooting to start. What follows imperils the whole honor system, as well as anyone foolish enough to cross B. McLane. I lost count after eleven men were drilled, but there were enough to delight all boys of any age still in the bang or ack-ack stage. "San Quentin" is one long chase, ending in a rousing fight that not only saves the League and clears Tierney, but breaks all the furniture in the hideout. It's pretty good entertainment, if you like your guns going off wildly or conveniently running out of ammunition so that the forces of good and evil can really slug it out.

MARGARET ("Wicked Lady") Lockwood is appearing in "Bedelia," based on the Vera Caspary novel. I believe the book did well and probably the movie will too, but an excellent cast can't prevent it from groaning and creaking and being old-fashioned in a silly way. Miss Lockwood had better get to Hollywood fast—what they are doing to her in England shouldn't happen to an actress. She is an actress, but what will sell the picture, beside the publicity and Caspary's name, is the lady's physique. Bedelia is supposed to be a *killer,* but if she really frightens anyone I'd be interested to hear.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

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Theatre

Another Patrick Play

THE STORY of Mary Surratt," which closed after seven days, comes from the John Patrick who wrote "The Hasty Heart" a few seasons ago. This new play, though not so original in character, has many of the qualities of the other and in general the same limitations.

The present play begins with the night of Lincoln's assassination. Mrs. Surratt and her daughter are in the drawing room; the boarders who are mixed up in Booth's plot are clearing out, leaving their things to be stored in the basement. The son is distraught; money and a dagger have been found in his room; he leaves angrily. After a time mother and daughter find their house surrounded. Lincoln has been assassinated; Booth has left a note with the conspirators' names as heroes; Mrs. Surratt is arrested. This whole act is written, not dramatically, but rather like a book, or at least like a series of only partly heightened motivations.

Dorothy Gish, as Mrs. Surratt, plays with admirable sincerity and technical control, but only one experienced in the theatre would guess what a problem she has on her hands. She must try to make dramatic what she knows to be dramatic but which has not been so written. A wise playwright would have studied this act in rehearsal to see what transitions were difficult, or what moments not intense enough in the light of their content, or what motivations had not been provided with images sufficiently sharp and conveyable. Miss Gish works wonders in holding together scenes that are literary and not theatrical; like a good trouper, she never sells the author down the river.

The second act is in the courtroom, where an outrageously illegal proceeding is being conducted by a military court. The evidence against Mrs. Surratt is produced, forced, twisted. (The setting provided for this occasion was very effectively designed by Samuel Leve and as well lighted by Girvan Higginson.) The emotional values are concentrated here, alive, terrific, but, as in the first act, dissipated by the author's more or less literary maunderings. Reverdy Johnson, the renowned lawyer, appears to defend the friend of his youth (Kent Smith brings excellent stage qualities to the role, a fine presence, a natural dignity and a certain impression of warmth), but the long speech that Johnson has finally to make is soft, edgeless and literary.

To my mind the directing—by the playwright—in this act could rather easily have developed more significant implications, considering the consciences and thwarted passions that appear in the judges and their assistants. When we remember what happened to some of them—the two Senators who prevented Reverdy Johnson from seeing the President for a pardon, and afterwards committed suicide; the officer testifying at the trial who later went insane and murdered his wife—for stage purposes the impact of these motifs should and could be made apparent in the trial.

THERE is then a scene where Reverdy Johnson pleads with the members of the court informally, though, I must confess, ornately, sententiously and tediously, and then the last act, where, in her cell, Mrs. Surratt comes to the final idea of death—this scene is only passable, though Miss Gish does it well. The playwright wanders off into a false lot of images about the little coral animals and how they built up toward the surface, and thus provides the actress with a bit of very undramatic trash by way of imagery, and presents us with an instance of the will instead of the imagination where images are involved. I am still not sure whether one is born knowing this sort of thing, or, if not, can learn it. If the author of "The Story of Mary Surratt" can learn it—for at present he has not—he may become one of our best dramatists. And this is because he has at the center a noble intention and because he finds themes that are in themselves moving and dramatic. He has grace, beauty and depth of mind, where most of our Broadway playwrights have only getting on. How can anyone not wish such a writer well?

Besides Dorothy Gish and Kent Smith, there were smaller roles done well in this play. Bernard Thomas, as the shrimpy, sensitive boarding-house young man, gave a self-effacing, excellent performance, and John Pimley, as General Jubal Bentley, was fine and subtle, a ruin of a man but not overdone, aristocratic but not stagey. Harlan Briggs, as Father Wiget, when he was on the stage, stole the show—a capital performance, witty and freshly conceived.

RUTH DRAPER (Empire Theatre), long ago established as one of our most important figures in the theatre of the people, the mind, the heart, has returned from abroad and resumed her old success among us. Those who have watched the development of her method have seen how it is built on the response of the audience, and how unerringly she contrives the result from that reaction. The two new pieces she offers are dramatic and interesting in their comment on our times. A woman is getting ready a cottage for the return of her husband from abroad; the neighbors pitch in and help get the place decent after the renters. In the other piece a woman of the Resistance sees the planes coming to the salvation of France. Instead of going backward with the years, Miss Draper's interests have become warmer and more human, more luminous, closer to her heart.

MEANWHILE "Craig's Wife" (Playhouse) returns from 1926, well directed by the author and well played by Judith Evelyn, not so long ago of "Angel Street." The play, once regarded as savage in its attack on the American wife, is not so savage by all appearances. This may be because the times have changed for this Pulitzer Prize play, or because we have grown somewhat accustomed to its approach, or because the performance of Judith Evelyn is not of the biting character that Chrystal Herne brought to the role, something of all three causes perhaps. Stewart Chaney has designed for this production a really elegant and decorative setting.

STARK YOUNG

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Hollywood

Trouble in Paradise

THE gold-coast diggings show signs of petering out. On dull days, when they are in the mood for a satirical freak story, city editors in the Hollywood area send reporters around to the state unemployment-insurance office on Santa Monica Boulevard. If the leg men wait around a little while they are pretty sure to see a few film celebrities arrive to collect their weekly unemployment checks from the state. One or two members of this 20-20 club ($20 a week for 20 weeks) may arrive in long, foreign-made cars driven by chauffeurs. That is always good for some boldface humor in a page-one box.

However, it isn't humorous. It is a little sad. Its implications would be a cause for worry rather than for heavy journalistic sarcasm if the publishers were less superficial and less consumed with hatred for social security.

For something is happening in Hollywood that has not happened before. Motion-picture profits are up to all-time highs. Motion-picture employment is down to an all-time low since the American film industry achieved its present techniques and production levels. Why? There are several answers. They add up to a cumulative Hollywood headache. They seep into the consciousness of the men and women who work for a living in mass-production film factories. They corrode with fear the gilded and sedulously contrived fable.

The central fact is that employment in the Hollywood movie-production industry is down to approximately 21,000, and is still shrinking. It was 30,000 or more a year ago.

It would be easy to blame this job drop on the strike, which began last September. But it wouldn't be true. The employment toboggan started before the strike. The strikers' places have been filled in part by scabs and by replacements furnished by unions antagonistic to the strike. The labor dispute has made production more expensive and inconvenient.

Here are what seem to be the rock-bottom causes of unemployment and the pervading sense of insecurity in Hollywood:

Decentralization. The men who run the movie industry are learning that films can be produced in other places —and quite cheaply in foreign places. These aren't the men who make the movies, the local production chiefs—the Louis B. Mayers, Jack Warners, Darryl Zanucks; these men probably would rather stay in Hollywood. The film business came to Hollywood 35 years ago because the pants-pressers who went into the nickelodeon business wanted to find freedom from cloudy weather and from process-servers. After a while Hollywood became a habit. But now the technique of sound stages and process shots, combined with fast transportation, makes it as easy to shoot a picture in New York as in Hollywood. The men who pull the finance strings that control the movies live mostly in New York and London, and they seem to be tiring of the fabulous Hollywood legend.

FOREIGN PRODUCTION. Expansion of the US film-making industry in the foreign field is becoming a mushroom process. Warner Brothers has just announced an investment of $26 million in British studio space; Twentieth Century-Fox on the same day announced the purchase of a London studio for $4 million; Paramount and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer announce expansion on a world scale, and Columbia discloses a plan to take over all motion-picture production facilities in Chile. RKO is shooting pictures in Mexico, where extras can be hired for 80 cents a day instead of the $16-a-day Hollywood minimum.

While picture production in most other nations was stopped or terribly handicapped by war, American film business boomed. After the war our State Department helped American film companies to negotiate extremely favorable foreign-exhibition agreements. Our films go into these countries already paid for by American exhibition, and are leased at cheap, highly competitive rates on the theory that everything they make is so much gravy. But all the financial gravy cannot be taken out of the countries where it is collected. Some of it has to remain. So it is invested in studio space and theatres under American ownership, and pictures that used to be made in Hollywood are produced abroad.

TWILIGHT of the B's. The anti-trust crackdown on the major companies' monopoly of exhibition rights in the United States has hampered the practice of block booking—the process that forced exhibitors to contract for a block of films that included one or two good pictures and several inferior B products. As long as the Hollywood B-hives could force these tired films on the helpless exhibitor, they were mass-produced at a low cost.

But now the Department of Justice has put up a fight for the little exhibitor, and the courts have sustained the plea. So exhibitors, quite understandably, are rebelling against the film quickies. That has caused quite a revolution in Hollywood, and a lot of unemployment. Movie lots that formerly specialized in the crasser forms of film entertainment have fired B actors, writers, directors and producers in wholesale batches, and are going in for fewer and better pictures.

Reissues. The studios have struck gold in the tin cans in which their old films are stored. These old films are resurrected, brushed up a little, maybe provided with new titles, and rushed before the waiting, eager eyes of a new generation of bobby-soxers. Little expense is involved, and the profits have been unexpectedly large.

The Screen Writers' Guild, analyzing the reissue racket recently, pointed out that Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer has 22 of these venerable films on its current release schedule; the Guild estimated that this would mean the loss of at least 88 writing jobs. Add all the other jobs connected with the production of 22 new films that would have been made if the 22 old films were not reissued, and the figure would be several thousand.

Hollywood S. V. R.

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Music

Little Record Companies

SOME of the most attractive recent phonograph records have been issued by the smaller companies which have sprung into prominence since the end of the war. In the new Concert Hall list of unlimited releases (records issued outside of and in addition to the elite subscription plan with which the Concert Hall Society was launched), Raya Garbousova plays the Grieg cello sonata, with Artur Balsam at the piano. Disc has released Prokofiev's jolly sextet for strings, clarinet and piano, the "Overture on Hebrew Themes." For Vox, Gaby Casadesus, the gifted wife of the more celebrated Robert Casadesus, has recorded the three movements of Debussy's suite, "Pour le Piano," with the animated "Danse," a separate composition, thrown in for good measure. The League of Composers offers Bartok's second violin sonata, played by Tossy Spivakovsky and Artur Balsam, in an album made exclusively for League distribution by Concert Hall.

Miss Garbousova brings an enchanting, serene lyricism to the Grieg sonata. Even if the music is a little loose at the seams, it provides a comely adornment for the loveliest cello tone and the most gracious style in the world. Miss Garbousova and Balsam collaborate superbly, and achieve expert balance and homogeneity of sound. No record manufacturer has yet obtained a more faithful reproduction than Concert Hall, and the vinylite surface produces only a slight scratch.

The Bartok sonata further substantiates Concert Hall's claim that its recordings will present completely competent performances of interesting works on discs which are products of superior engineering. If Spivakovsky and Balsam cannot persuade you to enjoy the energy and force of this somewhat tortured music, nobody can. Other unusual items in the Concert Hall unlimited list are Prokofiev's studiously naïve "Music for Children," played with directness by Ray Lev, pianist, and the little known "Irish Songs" of Beethoven, in which the light tenor of Richard Dyer-Bennet emphasizes the Irish ingredient of the peculiar Teutonic-Hibernian mixture.

On the evidence of four albums at hand, the records made by Vox are less exceptional from the mechanical viewpoint than those of Concert Hall, though they are quite adequate. Mme. Casadesus' grasp of the Debussy suite is capable, but rather unimaginative about the possibilities of piano sonority. A selection of caprices and other violin display pieces by Paganini demonstrates the brilliance and musicality of Ruggiero Ricci, though you may find your appetite becoming jaded before you reach the sixth piece in the set. Jakob Gimpel plays as fast as he can—which is too fast—in a brittle exposition of miscellaneous piano etudes ranging from Chopin to Toch. A Vox re-release of a European Polydor recording of the Bach D-minor piano concerto, with Alexander Borovsky as soloist, presents the music with cuts, alterations, added flourishes, and a generally egotistic effrontery of style.

The Prokofiev "Overture on Hebrew Themes" is played with delightful bounce and clean articulation, and the music itself is as insinuating as an old-fashioned nautch dance. Disc has not done so well in its choice of Erno Balogh to give a sophomoric presentation on the piano of Bach's three-part inventions.

Bach—Piano Concerto in D-minor: Alexander Borovsky, piano; Lamoureux Orchestra, Eugene Bigot, conductor. Vox (originally Polydor) No. 162, two 12-inch records, $4.05.

Bach—Three Part Inventions: Erno Balogh, piano. Disc No. 770, three 12-inch records, $4.83.

Bartok—Violin Sonata No. 2 and Rumanian Dances: Tossy Spivakovsky, violin; Artur Balsam, piano. Available only from the League of Composers, 130 West Fifty-sixth Street, New York 19. Three 12-inch vinylite records, $6.85.

Beethoven—Irish Songs: Richard Dyer-Bennet, tenor. Concert Hall No. AG, three 10-inch vinylite records, $4.73.

Chopin, Debussy, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Rachmaninov, Scriabin, Toch—Etudes: Jakob Gimpel, piano. Vox No. 164, four 10-inch records, $5.

Debussy—Suite, Pour le Piano, and Danse: Gaby Casadesus, piano. Vox No. 617, two 12-inch records, $2.99.

Grieg—Cello Sonata in A Minor, Opus 36: Raya Garbousova, cello; Artur Balsam, piano. Concert Hall No. AD, three 12-inch vinylite records, $7.20.

Prokofiev—Music for Children: Ray Lev, piano. Concert Hall No. AC, three 10-inch vinylite records, $4.73.

Prokofiev—Overture on Hebrew Themes, Opus 34: William Nowinski and George Ockner, violins; Bernard Milofsky, viola; Milton Forstat, cello; David Weber, clarinet; Vivian Rivkin, piano. Disc No. 4020, one 12-inch vinylite record, $2.31.

THE Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York is likely to suffer more seriously than Artur Rodzinski from the rupture of relations which took place a fortnight ago between the orchestra board and its musical director. Rodzinski can look forward to a fruitful career at the head of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, which he takes over in the fall. The orchestra has a magnificent tradition and first-class personnel, though it has slipped dizzily toward rack and ruin since the death of Frederick Stock in 1942. After four lean years with Désiré Defauw as conductor, the management will probably be ready to give anything this side of heaven to so capable a leader.

The Philharmonic trustees, on the other hand, have little reason to be glad that the jurisdictional dispute between Rodzinski and Arthur Judson, the manager of the orchestra, was allowed to come to an open break. In its fourth season under Rodzinski's discipline the orchestra has come to rival the unsurpassed Boston Symphony Orchestra. With Bruno Walter's new function circumscribed by the title of "Musical Adviser," the Philharmonic is once again without any director except Judson. Under this arrangement the ensemble cannot be expected to retain its present brilliance next year. One musical director with permanent authority can be at least five times as effective as five transient leaders, even though the five may bear the celebrated names of Walter, Szell, Stokowski, Muench and Mitropoulos. An orchestra that belongs to so many conductors belongs to none of them.

CECIL SMITH

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Labor

Labor's House

CHARLES Luckman, president of Lever Brothers, recently twitted labor leaders about the employment practices of their own unions. Did their employees have an annual wage and job security, he asked. Some of Luckman's arrows were off center, but his speech focused attention on a little illuminated area of labor relations.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics compiles no data on the wages, working conditions and security of union office workers. But well informed officials in the Bureau know that the evils of patronage, insecurity and sometimes depressed wages are, if not universal, at least not unknown.

At the top headquarters of the CIO and AFL, rank-and-file employees are unionized. The CIO has what, in other circumstances, labor chiefs would call a company union; it is an independent unit, formerly affiliated with the United Office and Professional Workers, which bargains with extreme formality with James B. Carey and Allan Haywood representing the CIO "management."

The current contract contains standard clauses comparable to those in private industry. The union is recognized as exclusive bargaining agent; there is a union shop and dues checkoff; the starting minimum is $150 a month. The lowest-paid secretary gets $212.50 a month. The work week is 35 hours, with time and a half for overtime, and vacations rise to three weeks after five years of service. Grievance procedure is handled in the traditional way.

The CIO maintains the right to hire and fire, but cannot fire except for "just cause." Severance pay, due either upon discharge or voluntary retirement, runs to only one week for each year of service, but there is no maximum. Last year, when unions were demanding substantial increases from industry, the CIO granted a $12.50 across-the-board raise to its own employees.

AFL employees in national headquarters are affiliated with Local No. 2 of the Office Employees' International Union. The local does not have a written contract with AFL headquarters, but does have contracts with its own international and others. The AFL will install a pension plan effective April 1; the CIO is still "studying" this problem.

David Dubinsky's AFL International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has set up a broad-scale security plan for its employees and so have some other internationals. The carpenters, printers and machinists have homes to which elderly indigent members may retire. The trend toward such old-fashioned gadgets has declined, however, with the growing preference of union members for self-respect and a stable income rather than eleemosynary institutions.

A SHARP change in administration of a union often brings changes in its top administrative staff. This occurred in the United Automobile Workers when Walter Reuther took over from R. J. Thomas. One veteran UAW man complains that neither Thomas nor Reuther will give him a job because neither thinks he is sufficiently "loyal."

Realists explain that personnel revisions on the top administrative levels are almost inevitable when a change in leadership takes place. "People don't change merely because they enter a union," says one experienced union executive, "and it is a human tendency for leaders to surround themselves with trusted friends." The clerical and technical staffs, he insists, are generally untouched.

That doesn't mean, however, that the union bureaucracies deserve a clean bill of health. International representatives may get $90 or $95 a week, with substantial expense accounts, while the white-collar staffs and a great many organizers have neither good wages nor job security. When a hard-boiled union president makes personal kowtowing a test of "loyalty," patronage reaches the old Tammany Hall level.

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Thomas fight in the UAW brought the benign Philip Murray into action last week. A long, often tense conference was held in Pittsburgh to discover ways and means of bailing out the Allis-Chalmers Local 248. George Addes, secretary of the UAW, attended along with Reuther.

Murray could not intervene in the situation without general agreement among UAW officers, the local and the local's officers. But so serious was the situation of the strikers and their union that discussion centered upon working out just such an agreement, the idea being that Murray would appoint an administrator of Local 248 to wash up the strike and settle factional differences about allegedly Communist local leadership.

LITTLE attention has been paid to National Labor Relations Board decisions which, if not influenced by a politic desire to appease congressional hostility, look as if that were their purpose.

A decision last week allowed the discharge of workers who struck in violation of contract; this echoed earlier decisions but was more sweeping and pointed in its implications. It is not necessary to defend contract-violating work stoppages to recognize that serious dangers are ahead if Wagner Act protections of workers are withdrawn by the board whenever workers commit some "illegal" or improper action. A line of such decisions would expose employees to disruption of their recently won rights by deliberately provocative actions of anti-union employers.

The NLRB, in a recent "free-speech" decision, went further than ever before in indirectly condoning the context of anti-union acts by employers. The Bausch and Lomb company had previously been held guilty of unfair labor practices toward an AFL union; it issued a pamphlet violently attacking the CIO and telling its employees that their choice was between "jobs" and "picket lines." The NLRB refused to hold that the pamphlet was improper, because at the very end it had contained a statement saying the company would accept the employees' decision.

WILLARD SHELTON

New Republic News

The Judges

WHEN the entries in the veterans' short-story contest passed the 2,000 mark, we decided that the project was getting too big for us and we enlisted the help of a panel of outside experts. The three men who have undertaken to judge the stories are Marshall A. Best, general manager of the Viking Press, Frank Taylor, vice-president of Reynal and Hitchcock, and Otis Wiese, editor-in-chief of *McCall's*.

Right now, as the judges approach their final decisions, we (about eight of us) are night by night kibitzing their job. No editor ever becomes cold to the lure of the virgin manuscript; so we sit up these evenings long after the family has gone to bed, with a pile of stories stacked by the chair.

In this case, too, there's the added excitement of looking inside the GI mind. We're not prepared, on the basis of our sampling thus far, to detect any great trends, but a few things do recur often enough to prove something. In the first place, it's evident that most ex-GI's are restless. They don't want to go back to humdrum civilian jobs after the dramatic adventures of their past few years; more than that, they're not in a mood to put up with the uncertainties, injustices and frustrations they see about them. They have no use for boarding-house living, they have no tolerance for Jim Crow transportation, and many of them will rattle the teeth of anyone who plays at Jew-baiting.

If we wanted to be easily frightened, we could point a trembling finger at the number of tales of violence we've come across. Does this portend a crime wave? We don't think so; we think it's just that the writers are still letting off combat pressure. On the other hand, if we had been a staff sergeant or a second lieutenant who'd rather pushed the boys around, we'd keep an eye over our shoulder on dark nights. There are a lot of dogfaces around thinking up vicarious revenge on their old bosses.

The boys who write these stories seem to be a pretty sober-minded bunch. There are a few Homeric benders in the pile, a few girls with feathers in their hats and a glide in their walks, but not as many as you'd expect on the basis of those lurid bull sessions of a few months back. By and large, we'd guess the boys have come home in good shape. They won't all be writers, heavens knows, but they'll be buckling down to something useful. We wish, though, so many of them hadn't cut their teeth on O. Henry. We're getting so that trick endings make us jump like a nervous cat.

Bandwagon

REECE WARNS GOP
ONLY PARTY COUNTS
Voters Are Asked to Ignore
Abilities in the Election of
Local Candidates

—*Head and subhead in the New York* Times.

Rule, Britannia

Stating that the United States tended to oversimplify the problem in India, Baxter [Beverley Baxter, Conservative MP] praised the British rule of India as maintaining peace for more than 100 years in a country with 500 languages, a caste system, Hindus and Moslems and no unifying force.

"Some nations are born to rule," Baxter stated. —*From the Cincinnati* Enquirer.

Hands Across the Sea

. . . The dogs [in Acapulco] begin, not the Byronic deep-mouthed welcome but shrill yaps beyond the range of any fife. It occurs to me to send them to feed the hungry people of Europe. A pest would be eliminated in Central America, many would be saved, and the great Amundsen is my authority for the statement that dog chops are pref-

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erable to pork chops or mutton chops. – *Colonel Robert R. McCormick in the Chicago* Trib[illegible]e.

Mighty Lucky

Our own nation has been most fortunate. It was never invaded or bombed. It sent millions of its finest young men into the armed services. Thousands died on land and sea in roaring battles, and today great hospitals are full of sick and wounded Army and Navy men who will never be completely well again. – *H. T. M.'s column on the editorial page of the Albany, Georgia,* Herald.

Warm Thoughts for Cold Days

General George C. Marshall, as a staff expert and planner of war, I submit, can think up a plan for decisively defeating the Soviet Union. And whoever directs the military planning of the Soviet Union, cannot, I submit, think up a plan for decisively defeating the United States. – *Dorothy Thompson in the New York* Post.

Johnny-Come-Lately

Senator McKellar also sought to discredit Mr. Lilienthal on the ground that he had learned about atomic energy only since Hiroshima, whereas Alexander the Great had assigned Macedonian scientists to the task of atom-splitting 2,300 years ago. – *From the New York* Times.

Stop!

A bill requiring pedestrians to wear red tail-lights at night was introduced today in the Kansas house of representatives. Offenders would be liable to a maximum fine of $100. – *UP dispatch from Topeka, Kansas.*

Above the Battle

I cannot imagine a lovely woman, prepared to instruct children, or a gentleman of integrity, similarly qualified as a teacher, becoming engaged in a strike. Remember Paul's admonition to [illegible]bteous, "not given to wine, no [illegible] greedy of filthy lucre . . . [illegible]er, not covetous." These [illegible]ower order. – *From a let-*[illegible]*ville* Courier-Journal.

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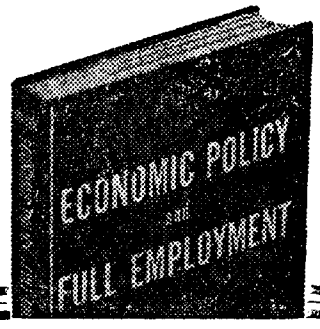

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Correspondence

A British View of America

SIR: So many of my American friends have asked me about the anti-American feeling that now exists in Great Britain that I thought I ought to write a letter about it. What is the basis of this feeling, and how can it be overcome?

First, I think, by being frank about it. We have to be quite clear that we are all still in the middle of an ideological struggle. In this struggle the supporters of the Socialist government of Great Britain, people in other European Social Democratic countries, and on the whole our difficult and sometimes uncivilized Communist neighbors, are on the same side as the millions of Americans who usually call themselves "liberal." Against us all are those who believe in an unrestricted capitalist set-up, including, I am afraid, those at present in power in your country.

We Socialists in Great Britain see our ideological opponents in power for several years to come in the United States. Because of our need for food and essential goods expended during the war, we accepted a loan on terms which, if they are really implemented in a policy of decent and fair general employment in all countries, are completely acceptable to us. But we have reason to fear that this policy will not be implemented by your present Administration.

We Socialists are all out to win our struggle of ideologies. That makes us anti-American Administration, as we believe you, our friends, are. But with the silly general habit of speaking of other countries as units, this tends to make us talk as though we were anti-American.

Also, of course, we are tired, worried, perhaps not very well. We would like to have new tea sets, and we see our lovely china all going for export, mostly to pay for the drop in the value of our dollar loan when controls were taken off in America. And while we have to haggle in the markets for our wheat and dried eggs, we see American papers crammed with evidence of exquisite things. However much we know that the average American family cannot and does not buy these things, we are not immune from a certain jealousy. We *must* make this loan go as far as possible, and in order to do so some of us think we ought to try to boycott American luxury goods, especially films.

But we want you to understand that this policy is not "anti-American." It is not anti-Henry Wallace. It is just common sense for us. Yet in order to do it, and in order to live more austerely (and goodness knows we have plenty of difficulties and drabness already), we have to keep up our hearts. We have to say defiantly that we aren't selling our souls for a packet of dried eggs! But that defiance is not against you, our friends. It is always directed to those who are also your own opponents.

Argyll, Scotland NAOMI MITCHISON

Exchange Wanted

SIR: I am anxious to get in touch with one of your readers who would care to forward on his read copy of the *New Republic*, and I would forward to him my read copy of the *New Statesman and Nation*. My address is 96 Charlotte Street, London W1.

London, England MICHAEL BAGENAL

Franco Justice

SIR: The patriot Jose Isasa and the Cuban democrat Jose Antonio Llerandi have been killed by Franco's executioners. As the Fascist regime in Spain is weakened by the actions of the great majority of the Spanish people, Franco's terror increases and will provoke a third world war in order to preserve fascism. The democratic people of the world must do their utmost to help the legal coalition of the Republican government-in-exile of Dr. Giral and urge the governments of the United Nations to break diplomatic and commercial relations with Franco now.

MANUAL MAGANA, President,
New York City CLUB OBRERO ESPANOL

Discrimination in Washington

SIR: In regard to Lewis Funke's report (January 19) of Actors' Equity being in a state of indecision in regard to racial discrimination in theatres of the nation's capital, we might suggest that all artists opposed to such discrimination refuse to appear on any Washington stage where such a policy exists. During the Hitler regime many artists in Europe and America refused to participate in Nazi-sponsored activities as a matter of principle. There is no moral difference between what was done in Berlin under fascism and what is now being done in W
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ROGERS

(Continued from page 3)

a fund of $15 million a year (about $1 per member) for five years, to finance a joint education and information service to tell farmers the story of the struggle between America's corporate monopoly groups and labor. Rank-and-file labor-union members should be equally well informed on the problems of farmers. There is a crying need for a well financed, well managed rural press and radio service for 9,000 rural weekly newspapers and several hundred rural radio stations.

Third, organized labor should begin immediately an ambitious and active development of a system of consumer-coöperative stores. They could get increased purchasing power for their members and at the same time do much to reduce distribution costs between farmers and consumers. Consumer coöperatives, handling Farmers Union trademarked products, would result in more real income for farmers and build a tremendous reservoir of good will. Organized farmers and organized labor should jointly own and direct coöperative food-processing plants, which could set high standards for working conditions and wages, while at the same time increasing the farmers' net income.

Fourth, farmers, especially the small ones, are going to be in a very bad way fairly soon. They will need the intelligent, active support of organized labor for legislation to protect their interests. The interests of small farmers are in the main much different from the interests of their real competitors, the big farmers. A majority of these big farmers are anti-labor.

When education-information, joint action in coöperatives and exchanging assistance on legislation become widespread in the community, state and nation, then joint political action will come automatically. There is a new Populist revolt, geared to 1952 needs, in the making. This time there must be the understanding—the unity of cause and purpose—between organized working farmers and labor. Then we can build a dynamic, hard-hitting, effective people's movement.

Washington JAMES G. PATTON

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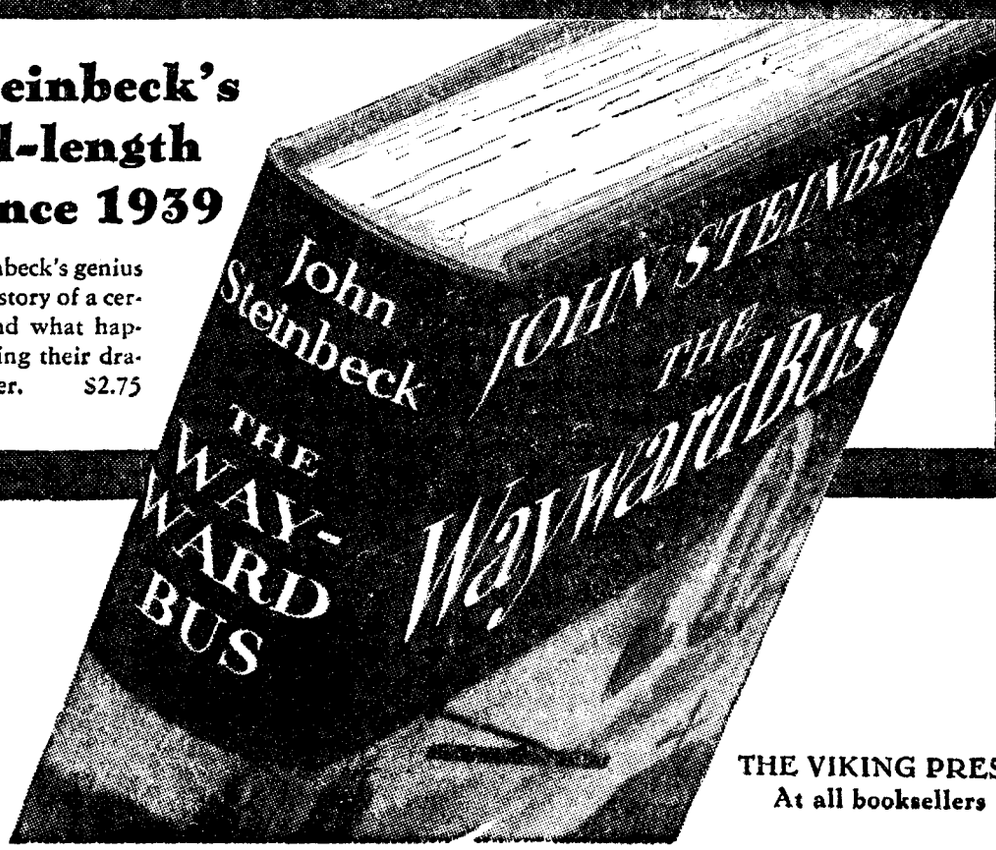

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